

AMERICA

A-CATHOLIC-REVIEW-OF-THE-WEEK

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CONTENTS

EDITORIALS —Notes	313-317
TOPICS OF INTEREST: The Year's Lay Record by Gerard B. Donnelly, S.J.— Nationality and Peace in 1933 by John La Farge, S.J.—The Roosevelt Revolution by Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.....	318-324
SOCIOLOGY: Social Setbacks and Advances by Philip H. Burkett, S.J.....	324-326
EDUCATION: The Year in Catholic Education by Charles N. Lischka.....	326-327
LITERATURE: Farewell to Freud by Francis X. Connolly.....	328-330
REVIEWS OF BOOKS ...330-331... COMMUNICATIONS ...332... CHRONICLE ...	333-340

On the Threshold

THE year that has drawn to a close dawned as the darkest of the depression. Yet, as the President wrote in his Proclamation for Thanksgiving Day, no man who looks into his heart can fail to manifest his gratitude to Almighty God. As a people chastened by adversity, we face the future undaunted. God has preserved us from the depths of woe which have existed in other countries for nearly fifteen years. Indeed, if we turn to the all but deserted villages in southeastern Europe, and from them go to the great cities where men and women fall fainting in the streets from hunger, and little children beg in vain for bread, we must confess that heavy as is the burden which lies upon us, there are deprivations which God in His mercy has spared us.

It would be folly to minimize, however, the seriousness of our case at home. An optimism that takes due account of the facts in the case is not far from the Christian virtue of hope, but a light-headed conclusion that the worst is over and the future secure, means disaster. For better or for worse, and which time alone can tell, we are committed to a policy of reconstruction with the Federal Government as the prime mover. That policy is now well advanced, and, on the whole, it has worked well, chiefly because the President has won the confidence of the country.

But will he have the confidence of Congress, now beginning its session? The Republican party has announced that it will take no part in a program of "sniping at the President," but that it hopes to "criticize constructively." We look for no exalted virtue in political steering committees, but if the Republicans can perform the functions of His Majesty's Opposition, they will deserve well of the country. The President has on more than one occasion asked for criticism, and the Republicans will

doubtless supply all that the case appears to demand. If we might offer a suggestion, it would be that they remember the advice of Lincoln, and reflect on the general inadvisability of swapping horses in midstream.

A hopeful sign in several of the States is afforded by the suggestion that the States themselves enact the main features of the Federal Recovery legislation. It is becoming apparent that the emergency legislation of the last Congress depends very largely, in fact, almost entirely, upon local cooperation, and also that the Federal boards in many of our larger cities are working under the disadvantage of a dubious legality. The effect is that their best efforts are minimized and, not infrequently, become wholly inoperative. In Florida, an adverse decision has been rendered by the Federal district court, and throughout the country the local boards seem to fear any action which might subject the Recovery Act to review by the judiciary. It would certainly have been better had the cooperation of the States been secured in a legal manner at the outset; but the dark days which hung over all the country last March made us willing to put in at the nearest port, without reflecting upon the perils or inconveniences which might there be met.

What was then passed over can probably be accomplished in the course of this year. Indeed, there is good reason for thinking that more intimate and direct State cooperation must be accomplished if such features of the Act as the minimum wage, collective bargaining, and labor's right to organize freely, are to become the permanent policy of the whole country. In the past, the Supreme Court of the United States has made short shrift of the "doctrine of emergency," and in the case of *Milligan* declared in forcible language that it destroyed the Constitution. "No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man," said the Court in that famous case, which turned on the sub-

stitution of a military tribunal for a civil court during the War between the States, "than that any of its [the Constitution's] provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy and despotism." The Court has reversed itself in the past, and may do so again. But is it wise to put our fortunes to that hazard?

The people are back of the President in his reconstruction program. Of that there can be no question. But many, whose devotion to the President's avowed purposes is undoubted, now ask that these purposes be renewed and strengthened by an accession of power in the States. Without that support, in the event of an adverse decision by the Supreme Court, the President's program will fall. Even granting an affirmative decision, the whole burden cannot be put upon Washington without danger of disrupting forever the constitutional relations between the States and the Federal Government.

"I now leave," said Lincoln in a farewell speech to his Springfield neighbors in 1861, "with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington.

Without the assistance of that Divine Being Who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him Who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

In that spirit of trust in God, we too face the future unafraid.

The Child-Labor Amendment

IT is fairly probable that this year will see the adoption of the child-labor Amendment. Proposed in 1924, the measure floated for the first few years in an atmosphere of disapprobation. But recent events have familiarized the country with the idea of centralizing in Congress powers hitherto reserved to the several States.

From the outset, this Review has urged rejection of the Amendment, not because it approved child labor, which it has always attacked, but for two main reasons. First, we believe that this evil can be eliminated more quickly and surely by the creation of an enlightened public opinion in the States in which it exists, and, second, it seems to us that the powers conferred on Congress by the Amendment are not sufficiently safeguarded. Or, as Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis, said a few weeks ago, "I do not see why we should turn our young people over to the Federal Government until they have completed their eighteenth year."

Twenty States have accepted the Amendment. The proponents of the measure are not pressed for time, for the Amendment, unfortunately, contains no limitation in this respect. It has been said, by way of mitigation, that Congress will never exercise to the full the powers inherent in the Amendment. Its intention will be merely to hold them in reserve against recalcitrant States. That statement is unwarranted, since Congress always exercises the plenitude of powers entrusted to it, and usually reaches out for more.

Directly, the Amendment refers to child labor. Indirectly, it authorizes a large degree of control over the education of children in the States. Under its liberal grants of power, the old Smith-Towner Federal control of education, first proposed in 1918, can readily be authorized. Are we prepared to accept that monstrosity?

Our Schools

ALL over the country public schools have been closed. Many others will shorten their terms. Teachers are receiving no remuneration at all, or only a fraction of their stipulated salaries. According to the Commissioner of Education, the public schools were never at a lower ebb. Yet in the worst of this depression, our Catholic elementary schools show, in some dioceses, an actual increase over the preceding year.

No doubt this striking difference is due to the difference in fundamental principle animating the two systems. To the Catholic mind, the Catholic school is an integral part of the parish. Without the school, supported by the home, much of the Church's work is lost. Hence, our Catholic people have reared schools all over the country, so that their children may be taught to praise, revere, and serve Almighty God. In spite of their poverty, aggravated by the depression, they are today maintaining schools which provide for more than 2,000,000 children.

In part, however, this striking efficiency is due to the superior financial system of the Catholic schools. Many years ago, the elder Rockefeller, no mean judge of a dime, praised the fine financial ability of the Sisters and clergy in charge of our Catholic charitable institutions. In this favorable judgment, our schools may be included. Where the secular schools, confident that the city treasury could never be exhausted, have poured out money like water, the Catholic schools have been careful to invest every penny to the best advantage. Their very poverty has saved them, even had their inclination run in that direction, from a multitude of fads which have distracted our public-school teachers, weakened the value of the schools for the child, and depleted the public treasury. The public schools are now suffering from the effects of unwise financial policies. Absolute honesty, and care in the use of money given them, have enabled our Catholic schools to continue throughout the worst of the depression.

Wise public-school administrators would do well to study the Catholic school. They would do better to apply to it a part of the school fund. That would reduce our city budgets by millions every year. Better, it would help to safeguard the constitutional right of parents to educate their children in schools of their own choosing. Certainly, where special taxes are to be levied for educational purposes, as was proposed in Ohio, the Catholic school should receive its share. The Catholic school is a public institution, and since the decision in the Oregon case must remain so, when there is question of the compulsory education law. In the sense that it performs a function which the State would otherwise be obliged to take over, it is an integral part of public education. But

its truest and highest contribution to the public is its training of millions of pupils in devotion to those principles upon which all well-ordered States must rest. There is every reason why it should be subsidized by the State: none why it should be penalized, even indirectly.

The German Tyranny

A STUDY of the events of the year in Germany leaves the observer with few conclusions that are cheerful. The Government which began the year with sustained and systematic attacks upon the Jewish people has proceeded from policies that were un-Christian to standards which, not unfairly, may be described as anti-Christian. As the year opens, the signs of a conflict with the Catholic leaders of the people are many. Other rulers have learned through disastrous experience that to attack considerable bodies in the State purely on the ground of their religious or racial affiliations is not statesmanship, or even good politics, but unadulterated folly. Can Hitler learn that lesson?

Whatever may be uncertain, it is plain that the Hierarchy in Germany is not unworthy of its spiritual ancestors who withstood Bismarck and beat him back on his chosen ground. The Hierarchy will do its best to teach Hitler wisdom. It will leave nothing undone to defend the Catholic heritage of the German people, and to protect the race against a Government which seems bent on destroying the country's most hallowed national traditions. Viewed from one angle, the attempt to supplant the heroes of Christian Germany by harking back to Wodin and the idols of the early centuries may seem sheer nonsense, a play to a pinchbeck nationalism. Doubtless, it is all that, and worse; but what is to be thought of the mentality of a Government which descends to such devices?

The Bishops in Germany, as throughout the world, will defend, in virtue of their sacred office, true love of country, and a patriotism which displays itself in invoking every effort to bring one's country to a high place among the nations by making it worthy of that place. But they must condemn as unworthy of a Christian and civilized State the spirit which masquerades as patriotism, but creates a State, inflated with pride and arrogance, an instrument of tyranny over its own people, and a menace to the peace of the world.

In a series of sermons during Advent at Munich, Cardinal Faulhaber spoke out boldly against the oppressive temper of the Government. In his opening address, the Cardinal called upon all the Christian people of Germany to unite for the defense of the Holy Scriptures, and to repel the invasions of the Government upon the rights of religious bodies in the country. Others among the Bishops have resisted with vigor attacks upon the Catholic press, and upon the right of Catholic parents to educate their children in truly Catholic schools. Does Hitler flatter himself that he is strong enough to disregard the tremendous reserve of power in the Hierarchy, supported by the Catholic people of Germany? If he does, he has studied history to no purpose.

It is to the Catholics of Germany that the country must look for redemption, and at the proper time the Bishops will announce their program. During the past year, they have been obliged to protest against such immoral schemes as the murder of the incurably sick, and sterilization, proposed, and, at least in some instances, fostered by the Government. Both schemes are unwarranted assumptions of authority by the State. In his Christmas Allocution to the members of the Sacred College of Cardinals, the Holy Father cited the condemnation of sterilization contained in his Encyclical on Christian Marriage, and this passage has frequently been used by the German Bishops and other leaders in the past year. In spite of these protests, however, it is said that preparations have been made in many German cities to enforce this barbarous decree.

No State in which a majority of the people are religious minded can tolerate the extravagances of Hitlerism. How long will the German people put up with them? Perhaps the year 1935 will dawn upon a Germany purged of a group of bureaucrats who have striven to replace the dogmatic and religious teachings of Christianity by the tawdry gospel of the Omnipotent State.

Bankers and Lawyers

BY the time that Ferdinand Pecora, counsel for the Senate investigating Committee, finishes his work, we shall have plenty of matter on which a code of banking legislation can be based. Many of the banks whose officials were summoned to meet Mr. Pecora have signed long pleas of confession and avoidance, topping them off with an act of contrition and a purpose of amendment. This is quite edifying, but not quite sufficient, for we all know what the devil can be when he is sick. What we need is legislation to keep him in bounds when he recovers. We must put an end to directors who do not direct, and to bank officials who, in guileless innocence, buy perfectly worthless securities, and then, with an unwonted degree of canniness, peddle them off to unsuspecting investors at a handsome profit. If the next Congress fails to take this matter in hand, the old evils will be aggravated, and new ones invented.

Closely connected with the reform of the banking laws is the reform of the legal profession. If banks violate the precepts of justice by practices which are hardly distinguishable, at times, from highway robbery, the bar also attacks justice by permitting practices which deprive thousands of the remedies which they are entitled to receive from the courts. As Prof. I. Maurice Wormser, of the law school of Fordham University, wrote last week, in his report as chairman of a committee appointed by the Federal Bar Association, "the law's delay is tantamount to a denial of justice." The present legal processes and practices create a spirit of contempt for the courts, and "the indifference of the citizen and the bar to this deplorable condition has brought about a widespread disrespect for law . . . and an increase in crime, lawlessness, and a disregard of civil obligations and constitutional rights."

The law's delays are an old story, unfortunately, as old as the profession. We hope that the Federal Bar Association will succeed in destroying this scandal, rightly characterized by Professor Wormser. But let it not turn a blind eye on those lawyers to whose wiles, excogitated for the benefit of banks and corporations, much of our present distress is due.

Note and Comment

Mission Exposition At New York

ON January 15-21 of the New Year, the New York Archdiocese will sponsor a Mission Exposition at the Hotel Commodore, patterned after the epoch-making event which took place in the Vatican gardens in 1925. Thirty-two different Religious Orders and Societies will be represented. Detailed explanations of the exhibits will be furnished by priests and Sisters, who have given joyful service to Christ in the tropics and in Eskimo-land. The displays will feature intimate, first-hand glimpses of native customs and ceremonies, the articles most commonly used in home life as well as the harpoons, traps, and nets which supply the daily fish and game. No part of the far-flung mission frontier will be neglected. Not only will the home and Indian missions in this country be pictorialized, but there will be full exhibits from Africa, China, Japan, Oceania, and the Near East. Those who were unable to visit the celebrated Vatican Mission Exposition will find on view at the Hotel Commodore many of the displays which attracted particular attention at Rome. The event, the first of its kind in the United States, has been fittingly named the Bishop Dunn Memorial Mission Exposition and counts on its General Committee many of the prominent prelates of the Archdiocese under the presidency of His Eminence, Patrick Cardinal Hayes. The best news of all is that admission from ten in the morning to ten at night will be free on the first day as well as on the next six.

Russian Trade Dreams

TWO months ago the newspapers and reviews were painting in colors of glorious hue the immense trade advantages to be gained by the recognition of Russia. It was a glum morning when ex-Senator Smith Brookhart did not burst into print with itemized lists of American products needed in Russia. The Soviets were ready to purchase everything from hogs on the hoof to Singer sewing machines. Pressed for figures, the prophets of plenty proclaimed that \$500,000,000 would be a modest estimate of immediate trade prospects. On the eve of recognition, this figure was reduced to \$200,000,000. The day after that happy event, it was difficult to get any of the statisticians on the record. Doubts were expressed as to whether the Soviets could buy \$100,000,000 worth of cotton, meat products, farm and electrical equipment. The matter of terms came sharply to the forefront. "The

question of Soviet-American trade is purely a question of credits," it was said. Col. Hugh Cooper was strangely silent. Mr. Brookhart began to think he had talked himself out of a job. No one expected Congress to sanction any more foreign loans, no matter how disguised. The bottom fell out of the Soviet trade boom. Those who still spoke of \$10,000,000 worth of business, did so apologetically. But there was another surprise in store for the optimists. They were shocked to hear that barter would be the principal basis of trade between Russia and the United States. The Soviets would buy only steel machinery that had been tempered with manganese originating in Siberia or the Caucasus. All containers and boxes would have to be fashioned of Russian pulpwood or lumber. Electrical equipment would have to contain a certain definite percentage of Soviet copper. It was even suggested that American stock be fattened on grain from the Ukraine. Premiums would be given in the shape of caviar and vodka. If the Administration leaders in Washington wanted to perpetrate a joke on the perennial advocates of recognition by furnishing them a one-hundred-per-cent opportunity to make good on their promises, the former certainly achieved signal success, besides producing almost over-night a spectacular *deflatio ad absurdum*.

"Religion Clean And Undeified"

IN its December issue, our crusading contemporary, the *Catholic Worker*, comes out with a scheme that deserves immediate adoption by every parish in the United States. During the past few months more than a hundred girls, many of them educated and cultured, but all of them out of work, applied to Dorothy Day for help. They had no cash, and spending the night on a park bench was a pretty hard lot. Could she find them a decent place to sleep? New York's Catholic Homes were filled, could take in no more guests. The sectarian homes, besides being overcrowded, expected you to go to chapel and sing hymns. Miss Day, after handling the individual cases, sought a solution of the whole problem. In her own parish she organized a guild of contributors, each person to give a small monthly sum. With her first collected funds she rented an apartment—four rooms, kitchenette, bath, heat, and light. She sent out a plea for beds, blankets, and linens—and got them, mostly from the poor of her own neighborhood. As this is written, twelve Catholic women, who spend the day in a desperate search for work, are able to come back at night to a home—their own—to find some comfort and dignity. A project for taking care of unemployed men is already afoot in the parish. The *Catholic Worker* insists that every parish in the land can and ought to take care of its own unemployed in similar fashion.

Controversy on Broadway Stage

THE current New York theatrical season, besides giving a great deal of comfort to producers, has had the unusual effect of introducing a new pastime among theater

goers, that of indulging in a little historical speculation, not unmingled with some polemics on religion. "Mary of Scotland," Maxwell Anderson's surprising historical piece in blank verse, has brought to us the old, old dispute about Mary, Queen of Scots. This lady is shown us as a fervent Catholic, suffering for her Faith, at the hands of an unscrupulous Elizabeth, and for having Mass said in her palace, at the hands, and booming voice, of that apostate priest, John Knox. One of the commentators in the *New York Times* had this to say, however: "Mr. Anderson has departed from historical record (sic) and made his Mary Stuart a rigidly earnest conscientious ruler instead of the grasping, pleasure-loving Queen that she was." Was she? John Knox thought she was, and his estimate of her has come down to us through the Whig historians. But surely John Knox's idea of what is pleasure is not that of a modern theater writer. The modern writer, however, did not know that he got his history from John Knox, and would be horrified to learn that he had, seeing that he, too, must have felt like doing some old-time hissing while John was on the stage, so blue nosed is that worthy in Anderson's play. Heigho! The revolution in English historical writing, so ardently desired and worked for by Hilaire Belloc, is only just reaching us. Another revolution, however, a really startling one, will arrive on January 8, when Eugene O'Neill's new play, "Days Without End," opens at the Henry Miller Theater. It ends at the foot of the Cross, with the hero crying out that laughter has come again to the world with love and God.

Human Rights in Germany

IN His impressive allocution on Christmas Eve the Holy Father, Pius XI, again made Himself the champion of fundamental human rights. Although not mentioning the recent legislation in Nazi Germany, the Sovereign Pontiff restated the condemnation of sterilization contained in the Encyclical Letter "Casti Connubii." In the latter document, the Pope declared that public magistrates, inasmuch as they have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects, can "never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason." This is the simple statement of a truth clearly perceived in the light of right reason. Man has a natural right to marry and have offspring. The family is more sacred than the State, whose rights in this sphere are only conditional and supplemental. Nor has it been clearly established in medical science that mental defects are hereditary. Where the premises are dubious and insecure, the conclusions are apt to be equally vitiated. To require a certificate of physical fitness before marriage is an entirely different matter and one well within the competence of the State. Such a procedure bears no implication of depriving man of a natural faculty. Nor does it open the door to a host of abuses. On the other hand, to practice a species of mutilation on a human being for one set of reasons is an open invitation, if not temptation, to busybodies to extend the State's jurisdiction. Other, and more plausible reasons will be found to violate the

human personality, especially in the case of the poor, the unorganized, and the less powerful members of the community. As usual, the Holy Father is ranged on the side of the weak, otherwise defenseless citizens of the world. He is the last strong barrier against the encroachments of the omnipotent State.

A Movie Queen

ANOTHER Catholic Queen, who lived about eighty years after Mary of Scotland, has found her way into the moving pictures, but her appearance there has not aroused any opposition among the learned critics. About all the average American knows about Christina, if he ever heard of her at all, is that she was brought up as a boy and wore trousers. That seems to have been what attracted Garbo to her, along with the common nationality. Seeing that she was the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, who spent most of his short life in the saddle, it is not surprising that his daughter and heir should do the same. But Hollywood was very little interested in that part of it. Out of the circumstance it evolved a typical nasty situation and makes the most of it. Few, however, that see the picture will realize that Christina is buried in a famous tomb in St. Peter's in Rome, where she lived as a pious Catholic for many years. She became one of the great patrons of art in a century of art, and her collections helped to enrich the treasures of the Vatican Museum. Even her years as a Catholic were turbulent enough, and she had frequent fallings-out with the Pope himself. But her generous acts of charity, her high intelligence, and her profound faith saved her in the end, and her last years at Rome were filled with edification. If the writers of the film had really wished to write drama, instead of merely doing their usual thing of telling a hackneyed story with a new character, they would have done better to look into her whole life. But then they would have had to be Maxwell Andersons to do that, and that is perhaps too much to hope for in Hollywood. But now that queens have got into popular entertainment, maybe new writers will delve into some others: Elizabeth of Hungary, for instance, or Blanche of Castile, or Elizabeth of Portugal, or any number of others. All of them happen to have been good Catholics, too; but there is a lot of drama in them.

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The Year's Lay Record

GERARD B. DONNELLY, S.J.

ITEM: Last November John McCormack sang "Panis Angelicus" over the radio; his hymn brought back a Catholic twelve years away from Mass and the Sacraments. Item: Throughout the year one priest served an astounding average of 5,000 meals a day to semi-starved men and women in St. Louis. Item: Before their children, and even their grandchildren, 1,000 husbands and wives gathered together in a Queens parish church and solemnly renewed their marriage vows. Item: Every month a manual laborer in New York City summons a meeting of almost a hundred Communists to discuss the Pope's Encyclicals; the meetings are somewhat tumultuous, seethe with hot eloquence, and usually last from noon to midnight, with the Pope, despite all the odds, generally coming out on top.

I can only mention these items. For anyone who first surveys the rich and vastly interesting field of Catholic Action during 1933 and then attempts to set down a brief record of the year's lay achievement must exercise a superhuman reticence. He must not dwell on isolated incidents such as those above. He must pass over in silence the 200 national, regional, State, and civic conventions that Catholics staged last year, ranging from the Charities Conference in New York to the Press meeting in Chicago. And on top of this he must yield to a third and still more difficult restriction.

No true record of the year could fail to mention Bishop Peterson's achievement in mediating the violent labor dispute in the Amoskeag mills, nor Monsignor Curran's handling of the striking anthracite miners in Wilkes-Barre. Outstanding in any real account of the year's work would be the report on the work of the young priests who have reclaimed literally hundreds of lapsed Catholics in the sixteen reforestation camps of Scranton's diocese. Or the zeal of the Brooklyn pastor who attracts great audiences of non-Catholics every week by his lectures on the claims of the Church. Action like this is typical of what is being done by thousands of clerics in every section of the country. But sacerdotal effort, no matter how successful, must be excluded from a record of strictly Catholic Action.

If tokens of success were in order, surely medals should be struck and bestowed upon the editor of the *Catholic Worker* and the founder of the League for Social Justice. Dorothy Day's brave little paper, founded last May to combat Communism and to popularize the Pope's program of reform, has jumped in seven issues from 2,000 to 20,000 copies, is mailed now to every State in the Union and every Province in Canada, and has won startling accolades from the enemy in the form of riots in Union Square. Its crusade to awaken a sense of individual responsibility in the heart of every Catholic has already resulted in a Labor Guild, two Workers' Schools, a House of Hospitality for women, and an amateur college of apostles who give all their free time to direct and im-

mediate action for relief of the jobless and dispossessed. In the short space of two years, sixty-three American dioceses, as well as others in Canada, Mexico, and Colombia, have given an astounding welcome to Michael O'Shaughnessy's social-justice campaign of study and prayer. The League has its own Bulletin, and the rapid spread of the movement is encouraging proof that the Holy Father's Encyclical has aroused thousands to a sense of personal obligation and a desire for immediate action.

One of the brightest chapters of the year is the incredible amount of work done by laymen in the apostolic field of spreading Catholic truth and combating bigotry and ignorance. Authoritative figures list at least eighty active groups devoted to writing and speaking regularly to their fellow-Americans on points of dogma and belief. During the year a group of Baltimore Catholics set up their pitches in the public streets and preached Christ's truth to all who would hear; moreover, during the Sundays of last Lent they conducted Stations of the Cross in the public parks, attended, the figures show, by an average of 3,000 persons. A New York group of men found their most effective outlet in weekly radio programs. In Washington, a band of lay apostles utilized both the street meeting and the air. A similar program was followed in Boston, New Bedford, Union City, and in at least four towns of Oklahoma. University students in the metropolis formed a guild to scrutinize the daily newspapers for erroneous statements on dogma, ethics, and history, and to answer each misstatement with a carefully written series of letters to the editor.

In Georgia, the Catholic Laymen's League, undiscouraged by the recent death of its co-founder and president, distinguished itself by a vigorous campaign. Besides publishing its own Bulletin, it answered hundreds of private inquiries about the Church, kept some twenty or thirty Southern newspaper editors fully informed on the Catholic position in current events, conducted regular radio programs, distributed 190,000 free pieces of literature to non-Catholics. In the Northwest, an identical program was followed by the Oregon Truth Society, and in Los Angeles, where for want of a better standard they measure their apostolate by weight, Catholic laymen distributed six and a half tons of apologetic literature. In Brooklyn, the students and alumni of St. John's College founded a guild to supply speakers on Catholic subjects to whatever group might request such service; in the year ending last June these active young men had hung up an amazing total of 433 talks. In Rochester, Catholics inaugurated a free Evidence library, stocked it with a line of apologetic, ascetical, and fictional literature, and put a priest in constant attendance to answer all inquiries about the Church. To a list of 500 non-Catholics in and around Philadelphia, the Narberth Information Society mailed a monthly leaflet—brief, courteous, and enormously interesting—on

some one point of dogma. Four years of this interesting apostolate have shown such splendid results that by last June no less than fifteen other groups of laymen in various parts of the country had compiled their own mailing lists and were using the Narberth leaflets.

It is, of course, impossible to secure accurate figures in this field, but at a rough guess there were about 10,000 lay Catholics engaged at the end of the year in some program of serious and sustained effort to spread Catholic truth in America. This estimate explicitly excludes national organizations like the Holy Name Societies and also the thousands of Catholic-college students who have taken up the work with zest and success.

The radio year makes a most impressive showing. The weekly Catholic Hour of the National Council of Catholic Men, just beginning its fourth season, is now going out over a hookup of fifty-six stations, with an average of 3,000 letters of inquiry a month to testify to its effectiveness. This, together with Father Coughlin's period and the Catholic programs on the Church of the Air, makes three national broadcasts that nearly every citizen has heard at one time or another. Few readers know, however, that dogma is also being preached regularly over a great sectional hookup in New England and by seven local stations in other parts of the country established solely for that purpose, and also by twenty-three commercial stations from which zealous groups of laymen have bought time.

The past twelve months will probably go down in history as the year when the Faithful, hitherto timid and inarticulate in the face of public immorality and even persecution, suddenly found the voice and the courage to protest. Indeed the year was marked by a series of magnificent howls. More than 75,000 Catholic people in Seattle, for instance, signed a boycott agreement in protest against indecency in the films. This (together with the Bishops' recently appointed committee on movie morals) was probably the year's high point in Catholic remonstrance. But before that 25,000 women in Dubuque issued a similar manifesto. A scorching ukase by the Detroit Students' Conference and the Michigan Federated Alumnae stimulated the State's theater owners to quick and drastic action. Boston's League of Women thundered on the same subject. So did the irate ladies of Fond du Lac. In Cleveland, the women raised such a rumpus that the exhibitors hastened to cut large chunks of sex stuff from the "Sign of the Cross"; likewise Ciscora, students' conference in Chicago. Providence exhibitors did the same thing when Catholic women of that city combined and complained. When Boston's women started an organized drive against salacious magazines, New York's men took up the idea, uttered a loud bellow, and drove the obscene periodicals from the newsstands of the four boroughs. A second manifesto galvanized Manhattan and Brooklyn police into action and within forty-eight hours the private circulating libraries had removed all lubricious fiction from their shelves. Encouraged by this, the ladies of Providence cleaned out their libraries, too.

In Denver, Catholic women organized and bore down

on the District Attorney for allowing the drugstores to display birth-control stuff in their windows. The stuff was removed overnight. This inspired the women in Washington, D. C., and in San Francisco to an equally successful campaign. Catholics, in the little town of Somerville, Mass. got wrought up (mistakenly, it would appear) over what they thought was a blasphemous article in the *Junior Red Cross News*. Mistaken or not, they grew so vociferous that John Barton Payne offered an explanation that was carried by both press associations and published in nearly every daily in the nation. "Judge" Rutherford, that ludicrous anti-Catholic clown, was kicked out of some fifteen or twenty radio stations when the embattled Faithful rose up and voiced their resentment. The thick-carpeted editorial offices of the *New York Times* was thrown into an unwonted flurry when angry parishioners of one Brooklyn church organized a mass protest against a stupid article about Spanish Catholics. In May, nine great Catholic organizations of Pittsburgh joined forces in a terrific attack upon the *Sun Telegraph* for resurrecting and publishing an ancient tidbit of filth. The Catholic Actors' Guild, backed with a long list of star names, denounced immorality on screen and stage and summoned city officials to a cleanup. The Catholic-organized Holy Hour in Roxy's Music Hall protesting against religious persecution in every land was the year's best publicized demonstration.

With one shameful exception, Catholics may point proudly to a year of splendid co-operation in the field of legislation. A California Constitutional Amendment that would have freed parish schools from a burdensome tax was defeated, chiefly because the Faithful of the Golden State displayed a discouraging apathy. On the other hand, a tremendous drive (inspired, doubtless, by the crusading Brooklyn *Tablet*) was made in eight States to obtain financial aid in one form or another for Catholic schools. Specific results cannot be mentioned here; but State subsidies will probably be an accomplished fact in many States by next January. This campaign was, indeed, one of the remarkable achievements of the year. In Illinois, Texas, and Colorado, Catholics, roused at last, organized and then pulverized the restrictions that had hitherto kept them from public-school positions. In Michigan, by a brilliantly planned campaign, Catholics got up a list of 90,000 signatures in favor of the O'Malley (anti-birth control) Bill, and were rewarded by seeing the measure speed through both Houses without even a whisper of debate. Catholic groups combined and helped to crush the Moffat Bill in New York—an outrageous proposal to abolish film censorship. Delegates from Catholic organizations fought valiantly against the Hatfield Bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee, and saw the pagan measure shelved.

Not to be forgotten in this hasty chronicle is the tremendous impetus enjoyed by the study-club movement since last January. Omaha's 60 new clubs, Des Moines' 71, Springfield's 80, Great Falls' 400, the thousands of others established by parishes and organizations in nearly all the dioceses of the country—all of them seem to have chosen the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Social Encyclicals

as the subjects for discussion—sure proof of a tremendous popular awakening to the two vital features of Catholic Action.

The Sodality, under the leadership of the nation's most contagious apostle of individual responsibility, advanced its great program of active work and personal holiness in hundreds of parishes and colleges, and struck out besides, into a new field, conducting regional schools of Catholic Action in New Orleans, St. Louis, and New York. Catholic College Alumni, 300 in number, met for three days to study the application of the Encyclical to American law and business. Identical in purpose were the seven regional Industrial Conferences sponsored by the N. C. W. C.

The Catholic drive for international peace was forwarded vigorously. The Students' Mission Crusade won more young apostles and spread to 42 dioceses. The Extension Society reported a million dollars collected and spent. Dubuque staged a Catholic Action Week. One Brooklyn parish held a Eucharistic Congress of its own lasting seven days and culminating in a great public procession. Mobile celebrated the Feast of Christ the King

with all-day Exposition and prayers for recovery in every parish and the biggest religious demonstration ever witnessed by the city. The Parish Credit Union Movement made more converts to its cause. The Catholic press reported a combined circulation of 7,000,000. The Alumnae previewed and reported on every major film made in Hollywood. Chicago high school students printed 35,000 pages of Catholic literature in Braille type for the blind. The Leaflet Missal rose to 23,000 subscribers. A new Catholic publishing house opened in New York. The Liturgical Arts Society put on a month's exhibition. About 2,000 vacation schools were organized and run during the summer months. Houston's women operated a free clinic for impoverished Mexicans. Denver staged a Catholic literature rally. In Queens, 438 men founded an Adoration Society and told off groups from forty parishes to spend the night before the Eucharist.

Most impressive statistics on Catholic Action during the year: the St. Vincent de Paul Society's report, with its almost incredible figures—\$6,000,000 collected and spent in relief, 13,000 jobs found, 3,000 marriages validated, 7,000 lapsed Catholics reclaimed, 144,000 families assisted.

Nationality and Peace in 1933

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

THE question that most absorbs the mind when it looks upon the extraordinary conflicts of thought and policy presented by the world in the year 1933, is: Does all this mean war or peace?

With pretty much the same fund of knowledge about the same basis of facts, sober scholars reach varying conclusions. The world situation remains critical, is the view of Raymond Leslie Buell, in his essay, "The World Adrift": "The struggle between Germany and the Allies over Austria, the deadlock of the arms conference, the prospect for naval rivalry in the Pacific, continuing instability in Latin America and the Orient, the existence of almost insuperable obstructions to international trade, darkened the outlook for international peace and economic recovery." To these critical points you could add a dozen others that are habitually listed, as the various minority discontents, the Manchurian deadlock, etc.

Dr. Earle B. Babcock, however, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, studying the European situation, finds grounds for hope (*New York Times*, December 3, 1933):

In spite of apparent chaos, selfish interests, and a disconcerting growth of nationalistic feeling everywhere apparent, my own conviction is that constant and definite progress is being made along fundamental and constructive lines which may be built into the foundations of the edifice of peace.

After all is said and done, what is the real question? Do the politicians blind us to the issues? These may not change as much as we think. Faced with the crushing contempt of their anti-clerical countrymen, the German Catholics of 1860 turned the tables by flaunting the banner of the all-decisive social question under their bourgeois

persecutors. *Historisch-Politische Blätter*, the diminutive periodical founded by Görres in Bavaria, said to the Europe of its time:

All the noise that is being made about Bonaparte and Garibaldi, Cavour and the Coburgs, Hungary and Italy, all of that will pass away. One thing alone remains: the profoundly unhappy state of society. Yes, it is the social question! You have forgotten it; but it will not forget you!

And in 1865 they added: "You can quarrel about Schleswig. For us the most important of all questions is to know how the people will find anything to eat; it is the social question." (cf. G. Goyau, "L'Allemagne Religieuse," vol. iii.)

The quest of social stability, regardless of national rivalries and frontiers, lays the surest foundations for peace. Internal class conflict is the seed ground of wars. Where all groups and occupations are satisfied and society is organized to enable them to obtain the goods that they need for their daily lives, appeals to adventure and conquest fall on less willing ears. A socially stabilized country is in a position to cooperate with the rest of the international community. The question of the tariff, for instance, can be rationally handled, since imported goods will be justly distributed, and exports will not be at the price of the labor either of home workers or of the people of other lands. The work in which the International Labor Office has been engaged, and has placed upon its agenda for 1935: of studying remedies for competition between industrial countries owing to different standards of living, is a move in the interests of peace.

But is not the national question paramount today, not the social? Witness the collapse last July of the World

Economic Conference in London. It is; but it may not necessarily mean conflict.

According to the late Chancellor Seipel, of Austria, three factors make up a nation: country (*Heimat*), common descent, and cultural unity. Of these factors, the least important, in his view, was that of common descent, the purely racial factor, as is shown by the genuinely national character of the American people. Nevertheless, these three factors are not enough. In our Southern Appalachian mountains, three or four million people inhabit the same territory, are racially akin, their culture and traditions are the same. Yet they are devoid of any kind of national consciousness. The people of one valley look upon those in the next valley practically as foreigners. Another factor is needed, as Seipel pointed out: an organizing element, which sets its stamp upon the constituting factors of nationality, and moulds them to its own ends. Lacking such an element, the Appalachians remain forever an unrealized nation, with no Hofer or Speckbacher to awaken them to consciousness.

In the nationalistic conflicts of the expiring year, some of the organizing elements are easily recognized for their aims. No one can fail to see, through all the changes of ministries in France, the attempts of financial interests and of sectarian elements to maintain their power. The same may be said of the military element in Japan, or in various Latin American countries. Under the influence of such elements, militaristic, financial, imperialistic, or following whatever ulterior ends, nationalism is stamped with a character intolerant of conflicting interests in other countries. Combine this with a fear psychology, and you have the makings of war.

The menace of war, then, would arise not from nationality as such, but from *the stamp given to nationality by the organizing element*. In its own selfish interests, such an element can over-emphasize any of the basic factors of nationality: territorial integrity, or racial unity, or unity of culture; drive any one of these to an extreme, and you stir up conflict with minorities within the borders of the nation, and with other nationalities.

But the experience of 1933 has shown that the organizing elements of the different nations can be used for beneficial, as well as for destructive ends. Precisely those smaller nations, which were formerly the seat of incessant bickerings and rivalries, have been setting the example to the world of using their nationalistic forces in the interests of social stability. This has been particularly noticeable in the Balkans—and in Eastern Europe generally. Greece and Turkey, hereditary rivals, signed at Angora a new pact of friendship and cooperation. But such a pact was made possible, because of the genuine interest of the present organizing element in the field of Turkish nationality, the Kemal regime, in the social stability of the Turkish people. At the fourth Balkan conference, held at Saloniki November 5 to 12, the draft of a Balkan pact, which the Bulgarians refused to discuss a year ago, was signed by the Bulgarians, with certain reservations. The King of Bulgaria visited the King of Yugoslavia, on the latter's soil. But neither the pacts nor the visits would

signify much, had not the ruling groups in the various Balkan nations been earnestly collaborating on the matters that concerned not reasons of State policy, not projects for immense industrial expansion, but the common, every-day needs of the humblest citizens of their respective lands.

It was these, to use Seipel's favorite expression, which built the bridge. The wheat conferences of the agrarian countries with their semi-agrarian neighbors, the problems of Hungarian cattle-growers pasturing on Czechoslovak soil, made rapprochement between these two national bodies possible. Austria, with a socially minded Dollfuss at its head, is able for the first time since the World War to lay the foundation for serious cooperation with the different neighboring succession States. The Scandinavian countries, for the same reason, are a stabilizing element in Europe. And, with all the dynamite of his political program, Mr. De Valera's best chance for getting a foothold in the world community of nations lies in his ostensible plans for social stability.

Sheer necessity has driven these nations to consider their own and their common needs. Nevertheless, the positive influence of the Holy See cannot be left out of consideration. The socially constructive ideas of "Quadragesimo Anno" are explicitly recognized by the leaders of Austria and Portugal; they appear to be a factor in the recovery policies of the United States; and they will prevail in rehabilitated Spain if Gil Robles can carry out his plans.

If we may sum up what the year has principally revealed, it is that the cause of peace as opposed to war is not that of democracy as opposed to dictatorship. Nor is it necessarily that of internationalism as opposed to nationalism. The munitions industry is an international concern; yet its vested interest in conflict is a standing menace of war. International Communism, despite its peace professions, and international capitalism, despite its zeal for the status quo, are equally disturbing to international peace. The battle front for peace is in those elements which give stamp and direction to nationalism. True and sound nationalism is naturally pacific, for it seeks to preserve a country's cultural and economic goods which are inextricably bound up with similar goods in other lands. Belligerent nationalism, however, is unfair to itself, for, to accomplish its purposes, it must destroy its own national heritage.

But to trace this battle front among the greater nations of Europe is no easy task. We are told by Herr Hitler and his representatives that have come to our shores, that his aims are strictly social; hence pacific from their nature. Let us hope that they are so. If they are, and if Sir John Simon can make the French and their allies believe that they are, a major occasion of conflict is removed from the civilized world. Yet the regime that has organized the coordinated German nation, has dealt with the Jews on a racial basis, not a basis of true nationality as conceived by Chancellor Seipel. And with the problems that the Jewish refugees bring to other lands, arise misgivings as to just where the peace line falls in Germany.

One of the major surprises of the year was the pacific alignment of Poland, on her eastern front, with Soviet Russia; on her western, with Germany and Danzig. Under Pilsudski's firm rule, Poland has developed a governmental social program in marked contrast to her old patriarchal days. Its influence has helped to solve the crises that have arisen, especially in dealing with the exuberant Nazis. But Poland has her own minorities; and they are vocal in their claim that they are being sacrificed to interests of foreign policy.

Great Britain rounds out the year as the official peacemaker in continental Europe. Yet her politics oscillate between imperialistic conservatism and the confused mild Socialism of the Labor party. "Only in the case where her interests are immediately at stake and where her own safety must be directly affected by the result of any change has Great Britain ever consented to bind herself beforehand to specific engagements on the Continent of Europe," wrote Sir Austen Chamberlain in 1931. But, he also remarked, "There is, after all, some continuity in British policy." Germany today, as France a century ago, must be returned to the councils of Europe. Whatever motives

one may suspect, British policy for the present is one of conciliation and encouragement of social stability among the smaller nations. The United States is proceeding with Soviet Russia on the hypothesis—a very uncertain one—that this is Russia's actual concern as to her own population. At any rate, few nations, at the close of 1933, are willing to admit any interest to be paramount to that of the social question. Nationalism, however glorified, is made to appear its servant. Colonial Powers, as in dealing with Liberia, are careful to appear socially beneficent.

Is this a guarantee of future peace? Not in itself, for such a pretension may be a mere façade, to cover very different designs. But it can be made a guarantee, if Catholics throughout the world work together for universal social justice based upon the principles of Christianity, and call the governments of the world to account for their non-compliance. "For solidarity of justice," said Bishop Noll at the regional conference at the University of Notre Dame of the Catholic Association for International Peace, "there must be solidarity of faith." To make this solidarity felt, as a positive factor, Catholics need to reconcile genuine national with genuine international principles.

The Roosevelt Revolution

WILFRID PARSONS, S.J.

THE year 1933 opened with the country just as poor in ideas about recovery as it was in dollars. It ended with us somewhat better off in dollars but immensely rich in ideas. We suddenly, on the Fourth of March, realized that somebody had things in hand, and we were enormously eager for him to carry on. He seemed to know some place to go, while everybody else was just standing around, and one after the other, commerce, industry, and last of all the banks, went tumbling down about our heads. Just where he was thinking of going, not everybody was quite sure, though those who had pondered his Commonwealth Club and Detroit speeches in the 1932 campaign thought they had a pretty good idea.

To get a fair notion, from a purely negative point of view, look at the various interests that were challenged all at once by the New Deal and its adherents. In his inaugural address the President had promised to "drive the money changers out of the temple"—the bankers out of control of government, to put it literally. The National Industrial Recovery Act was a challenge to that part of industry which is enriched by exploitation of the worker through the open shop, the company union, and the "yellow-dog" contract. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was a challenge most of all to those middlemen and speculators who profit by levying on food in its progress from the farm to the consumer. The Securities Act and the changes in the Federal Reserve Act were a challenge to Wall Street speculation and to irresponsible flotation of loans and stocks with insufficient protection to the investor. The suspension of the gold standard and the various monetary moves were a challenge to the international banker who makes his money by involving our money in

the gyrations of the money base, gold treated as a commodity. Even newspapers were challenged, by the Tugwell pure-food advertising bill, and by the provisions of the publishing code under NRA. The powerful Prohibition lobby was challenged and crushed in a series of brilliant strokes. Thus, operating on the whole front at once, Mr. Roosevelt has deliberately attacked more interests than were fought by all the pre-War progressives put together, Theodore Roosevelt, Bryan, and Wilson. Is it any wonder the public mind is still in a whirl?

How this challenge was met is instructive. All those who can be classed as left-wing radicals are openly afraid we are going to have Fascism (by which they mean, not what Fascism really is: anti-Communism, destruction of secret societies, hyper-nationalism, and the syndicalist State; but control by bankers and financiers, which it is not). All those who are right-wing conservatives are crying Socialism (by which they mean, not what Socialism really is: ownership of raw resources and the means of production by the State; but restriction of unlimited competition; which Socialism wants, but so does Pius XI, no Socialist). Curiously enough, those to whom we owe the disastrous inflation which brought on the depression are now the very ones who believe that the only cure for depression is to depress more, that is, complete deflation until we reach a flat bottom.

When the new Administration took office in March it was faced with two main problems: recovery and reconstruction, to both of which it was pledged. It faced the closing of all the banks in the country without exception; the total loss of morale by our people, who saw nothing but starvation and revolution ahead; the almost complete

stoppage of industry, and a great slowing down of commerce; no purchasing power among the farmers; 12,000,000 industrial unemployed; the gradual seepage away of private savings; the railroads (and insurance companies and savings banks with them) on the edge of bankruptcy; and on the other hand, the greatest food production in our history and the greatest capacity of goods-producing plant and machinery we ever had. The disgrace of starvation amid plenty had all but ruined the prestige of capitalism.

At this darkest hour of our history, the new President by a few magic words in his inaugural speech changed the spirit of the country in a half hour. It is hard for us now to recapture the two emotions of that day, the despair of the morning and the hope of the afternoon. But the very difficulty of that effort shows how far we have traveled since. The session of Congress that followed, still under the spell of the new leadership, in four months passed legislation that turned our history into a new channel. We definitely left the old concept of industry as a struggle for mastery between individuals, a concept that, while guilty of great injustices, yet did build the country to what it was. The new concept of social justice had taken its place. The day of the pioneer was over, though his sons hardly realize it yet; and the era of cooperative enterprise had dawned. The old era was killed by its own makers, who ruined themselves financially by their overreaching. It was obvious that a new agency had to be called in to retrieve what could be rescued from the crash.

Mr. Roosevelt had two alternatives before him: he could devote the powers of the Government to recovery, so that industry would be as nearly as possible identical with what it was before; or he could recover by *reconstructing*, at the same time adopting also such emergency measures as were absolutely necessary to the moment. He chose the second alternative. All of the measures passed by Congress have this double aspect: relief to industry and individuals was provided for the emergency and also to provide such purchasing power as was necessary to make goods salable; but behind all this and along with it ran a whole series of measures that were destined in the minds of their authors to revolutionize our whole industrial system once for all, in its financial, commercial, industrial, and labor aspects.

To his assistance the President called the most diverse types of helpers, of whom the "Brain Trust" were merely the most conspicuous, because the newest, and therefore "copy" for newspapers. In this apparent madness, however, there was a method. The President and his immediate counselors had definitely determined whither they were bound; his objectives were fairly clear. The methods were the crux. So he called in representatives of both the old and the new, and let them fight it out. Thus he made pretty certain that the necessary middle road to his objective would be decided on by the time the plans got back to him. Some people, and especially the newspaper writers, were puzzled by this; but every once in a while the President reached for his microphone and called up the people themselves, and told them about it; whereupon we settled back again in our seats.

The essence of the President's problem was this. For several thousand years profits from producing goods and food had depended on scarcity; let the supply rise above that point, and all wheels stopped until demand again outran supply. That was the "economic law." But this millennial cycle has come to an end. The perfection of machines for both farm and factory suddenly advanced to such a high degree that instead of an economy of scarcity we will now henceforward have an economy of plenty. Fundamentally, what caused the crash was that people either did not realize the changed situation and went on as before; or, if they did, were unable to devise new economic laws to meet it. It was to the credit of the President that he recognized the new economy that had come upon us; and it was his task to bring about a system that would work under it, since the participants in the system were unable or unwilling to do it.

The key to the new economy was that it must be planned, whereas the old one, since the periods of plenty were short, quickly righted itself automatically. Unlimited competition, therefore, continued, because it carried its own remedy in itself, but it continued at the expense of the many, for the benefit of the few. Competition itself must not be killed, however, or we would have monopoly or tyranny, or both. It must be limited. Controlled production, therefore, was the objective.

But first of all, relief must be given. Through the Treasury Department an agency was set up to reopen the banks, and by December 1, less than 200 national banks were still held up, out of all the thousands in the land; all the rest were open or about to open. Those dependent on farming (about forty-three per cent of the population) must be relieved of debt and given money to buy things with; and in October alone, the cash income of the farmers was \$588,000,000, an increase of forty-four per cent over a year ago; and there had been an increase in income for six months in succession. Through the Farm Credit Corporation, \$2,000,000,000 was made available to relieve the mortgage burden from both the farmers and the banks and insurance companies; foreclosures almost stopped.

To finance relief, the credit of the Government must be protected and increased. It was, and the proof of it was that insurance companies hold \$1,500,000,000 worth of Government securities, the largest in history; and that when the Treasury offered \$950,000,000 in new bonds, more than \$2,764,000,000 was subscribed, nearly three times the offering. The railroads must be rescued; various measures were taken under a coordinator, and the result was that net operating income from January to November 1 was \$398,238,658, as against \$260,616,478 for the same ten months in 1932. Then, as direct relief, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) under Harry Hopkins distributed the sum of \$300,000,000, under the second part of the NIRA, directly to the States, adding that much purchasing power also to the people. Later, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) received millions from the Public Works Administration (PWA) for immediate "made jobs" in the cities. The

PWA had received \$3,000,000,000 from Congress, but was necessarily slow in disbursing it. All of this comes under the head of relief.

Relief of another kind came from NRA itself. This was an immediate attempt to put a "bottom," as an official expressed it, to wages themselves, which were still on the downward chute. A minimum wage of \$14 for laborers with a maximum thirty-five-hour week, and of \$15 for white-collar workers, with a maximum forty-hour week, was put into a blanket code, signed by more than 6,000,000 employers. This was not put forth as a living wage, but merely as an emergency, to stop the decline, and arrest the vanishing of purchasing power. It did succeed in doing just that.

But NRA was much more than a mere emergency measure. Many who had imagined it was, and were enthusiastic for it, were speedily undeceived. Hence the outcry against it around the first of November. The still-unconverted individualists just then woke up to the fact that henceforth neither banker nor industrialist was to have his own way unobstructed by social considerations. For NRA and AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) were nothing less than an entirely new basis for factory and farm; they called for self-administration, it is true, but under strict rules laid down by the Federal Government under authority from Congress. As soon as industry began to pick up, some bankers and industrialists had imagined that these rules were to be relaxed and finally let go. Nothing of the kind. If anything, they were to be tightened up, in the spirit of the new economy of plenty, which demands control.

The monetary measures taken by the Government, also, seeking a new basis for money and a new stabilization for international exchange, hurt the bankers whose real home is London and who make money mostly by dealing in money as a separate commodity in itself, and not as a means of exchange merely. They were having quiet notice served on them that their occupation was over. The Pecora inquiry opened many eyes, and solidified the country against them, a movement helped by Father Coughlin on the radio more than by any other. Both the reconstructive parts of NRA and the monetary policy were designed deliberately to take control of credit, a public function, from private hands, and give it to the public authority. At this writing the nationalization of the banks is a distinct probability. If Roosevelt succeeds in that his revolution will be complete. The first attack on him was a failure, as Mr. Moody showed two weeks ago in these columns, because industrial recovery under the NRA codes was a reality.

That this recovery is a fact some few details will show. The value of securities in Wall Street appreciated by \$2,500,000,000 over last year, thus saving many loans whose collateral was slipping and completely stopping the liquidation of it. The first nine months of 1933 showed, in 236 industrial corporations, a net profit of \$183,400,000 as compared with \$17,313,000 in 1932. Twenty retail-store chains increased profits 4.8 per cent; mail-order houses 17.7 per cent; shoe chains 17.5 per cent. Wheat

prices were up; so was cotton; the wholesale commodity-price index as a whole was up 17 per cent since April. The list could be prolonged. Nothing succeeds like success, and the facts confound the critics.

Meanwhile two social changes of profound significance had occurred: collective bargaining in industry was made a law with teeth in it, and child labor was abolished without an Amendment to the Constitution. The changes are incalculable in their ultimate effects. A few intransigent oldtimers objected, but Mr. Roosevelt still had the country with him in this as in most other things. It still seemed true that whatever really was wrong with the New Deal was defects in personnel, sometimes very serious defects, which tended to throw discredit on the movement itself. The new National Emergency Council, just set up, has this problem as its first and most serious.

Does all this mean that the Roosevelt revolution has succeeded? Far from it. Probably one in ten knows that it is intended to be a revolution: the nine imagine it merely looks to a return of "the good old times." The idea has spread, even among labor, that NRA is an instrument of tyranny. If Mr. Roosevelt sticks to his guns, more will hear the news, no doubt, that "the good old times" have gone forever, had gone before he came on the scene. Mr. Roosevelt's problem, and that of all of us, is how to manage our affairs for the benefit of the many, not of the few; if we do not, even the few will perish with the many.

Sociology

Social Setbacks and Advances

PHILIP H. BURKETT, S.J.

RELIGION is the bulwark of society. This is a truism. It needs no elaboration. If religion is shoddy or decadent, society must go to rack and ruin. With religion morality goes apace. Reading the billboards on our year's journey we find unmistakable signs of a thoroughly irreligious and unmoral society. Industrialism has occupied the spot light on the stage of the past twelve months. For this reason birth control, free love, divorce, moral license and other actors have not been so prominent in the public eye. Still, like cankers, they are slowly and insidiously eating into the very vitals of society. In our social history today there is clearly manifest an alarming loss of a family sense, and all that goes with it. The divorce-rate, it is true, has been reduced. But this is no indication of a growing respect for the sanctity of the marriage contract. It is rather due to a desire of discontented couples to face the lesser evils, and remain together. Reno has felt the depression in its unsavory business. Its divorce courts registered 47,000 divorces in 1931, and only 32,000 in 1932. The record of 1933 is unavailable at this writing.

The history of one of the greatest Catholic events of the century was written when the nineteenth annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and the centenary celebration of the foundation of the St. Vincent de Paul Society took place simultaneously in

New York City in October. The Conference of National Charities has steadily grown from the tiny mustard seed to the present stately tree. "What a change," remarked one of the prelates at the meeting, "from the days of 1910, 1912 and 1914, when a few of us assembled in McMahon Hall at the Catholic University."

In the course of these years many diocesan charities which were isolated, anemic, and did not function, gained new life and inspiration from the national movement. Each, however, retained its identity and made its contribution to the annual program. Seventy-five diocesan organizations have been coordinated, unified, and taught the ways of joining with non-Catholic agencies in solving the problems of civic life. It was quite befitting that New York, the archdiocese of the "American Cardinal of Charity" and the city of Thomas M. Mulry, leader and pioneer in St. Vincent de Paul work, and a worthy disciple of the great Ozanam, should sponsor the commemoration of the international celebration of this centenary.

There are other national conferences which deserve brief mention. The National Council of Catholic Men and the Council of Catholic Women met in October. The importance of these conventions is easily gathered from the list of timely and vital questions which were discussed: Catholic action, the Liturgy, the youth problem, study clubs, the N. R. A., religious education, and others. The Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems is also annually widening its sphere of influence by its regional meetings in key cities. The Right Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, D.D., pioneer and leader in this movement, has been signally honored this year with the Roman purple for his labor and achievement in the cause of Catholic sociology and national industrial problems.

The "New Deal" or the "Roosevelt Revolution," as Ernest K. Lindley correctly entitles his book on the history of the New Deal, calls for particular attention. Since March 4 the entire citizenship of the United States has been passing through a school of economic and social instruction whose text is NRA, AAA, and other legislative enactments. The sudden and complete change of existing industrial conditions and attitudes has effected in six months what could not have been achieved through ordinary channels in that many years. It is interesting to note that through N. R. A. many rights have been recognized and views firmly established for which the Catholic school of economic thought has been contending ever since the days of "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno." In fact, it is quite correct to state that Section 7 of the N. I. R. A. presents the greatest progress in legislation ever secured for labor in its history in the United States. This particular section asserts the right of workmen "to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing," and to "be free from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor." It provides "that no employe shall be required to join any company union," and "that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment approved or

prescribed by the President." Through such enactments child labor has been dealt a staggering blow, and unemployment reduced by approximately three millions. The A. F. L. puts the present unemployment rate at 10,076,000. Purchasing power has also been restored in some measure. Industrial codes, designed to promote the New Deal, have worked great good in numerous areas, though it must be admitted they have created lower wages and unsatisfactory conditions of work in some others. This was to be expected. The task was colossal, the preparations short and hurried, and the cooperation in many quarters very reluctant. Some large industrialists have offered positive obstruction to the program. Their criticism, at this writing, is considerable and their violation of codes extensive. Small business is following in their wake. The very constitutionality of the Act is questioned in some quarters.

But it is gratifying to note the vast increase in membership of the various labor unions. Workmen, who had lost confidence in their organizations, are now hastening to gather under the protecting wing of the N. R. A. The membership of the A. F. L. in 1932 was 2,532,261 as compared with 2,889,550 in the previous year, and 4,078,740 in 1920. A concentrated effort was launched at the last national meeting of the A. F. L. in October to raise its membership to the 15,000,000, at least. Industrial insurance is also gaining much ground. It is widely considered the only remedy today for the insecurity of the workmen.

It is less encouraging to record that the indices of industrial production as well as of business activity, prices and market values have almost universally taken a downward dip since July. There had been a sharp and substantial upward swing in the preceding months. The boost seems to have been artificially wrought and could not be sustained. The purchasing power, spread over the country by the N. R. A. codes—often at great loss to employers—did not continue to react, as expected, in greater sales and return profits. Courage and confidence have thus been temporarily weakened. The uncertainty and instability of our currency, too, particularly in foreign exchange, have caused investments, business activity, and employment to pause on the march to prosperity. A managed currency, with an honest dollar for the gold standard, is something no other nation has ever attempted before. Still, the temporary economic setback presents no cause for serious alarm.

National Prohibition is now a movement of the past. On January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. On December 5, 1933, the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the Eighteenth, was written into our fundamental law, for on that day the Convention of the State of Utah, ratified the last Amendment. The "noble experiment" has thus faded from the national stage. Responsibility for sobriety is now largely thrown back where it was before, and where it belongs. It is interesting to note that, although approximately 105,000,000 citizens are in the repeal States, or more than eighty per cent of the entire population, it only required two more dry States out of the thirty-nine to block ratifica-

tion, at least for this year, as no other States had scheduled an election. Such is our strange constitutional method. We confidently hope that the State Legislatures will enact suitable laws to keep the drink evil within reasonable bounds. However, legislation alone will hardly achieve this end. Control of the traffic through self-control of the individual, or even voluntary total abstinence, encouraged and based on high noble motives, will go very far towards establishing order where chaos once reigned.

The Negro race has not made any notable progress in the past year either in the field of economics or education. But this is not to be ascribed to any lack of ambition—for the Negro has it—but to the lack of opportunity and leadership in our era of depression. Communism, as a religion, is rife in some high Negro circles. In their minds, it is to replace the outworn Christian forms that have done little or nothing for the colored race. Here is the chance of the Church. Some Negro schools of higher learning are at present a fertile field for vigorous Communistic propaganda.

There has been a considerable flare-up of criminal activity in the past year. This is not due, however, to our industrial situation but in part to the Prohibition law now happily discarded. The chance for great pecuniary gain has also opened up another avenue of crime little traveled before, namely kidnaping. The dastardly nature of the crime, and its enticing opportunity, have prompted some legislatures to make this crime a capital offense in certain conditions. This crime has also promoted the psychology of mob violence that found its peak of expression in the execution of "lynch law." Nothing short of death will deter such criminals, is their opinion. Frequent escapes from prison and serious riots within the walls have created the plan of removing desperate criminals far away. Recently Alcatraz Island, a military prison in the Bay of San Francisco, was selected to be turned into a "Devil's Island," after the model of the French prison of that name.

Thither would be sent fourth offenders, kidnapers, habitual and hardened prisoners, and those who foment rebellion within prison walls. A series of riots took place, at some intervals of days, at Cherry Hill, the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, situated in Philadelphia, and confining some 1,500 inmates. An investigation is going on at present to determine the hidden causes. Besides over-crowding and idleness, the fertile mother of many riots, cruelty and unduly harsh treatment are alleged as causes that drove the men to desperate action. Our prison management, our criminal procedure, our jury system and our methods of detection and conviction have long since been found inadequate. Remedial measures have been advocated in AMERICA for some years past, but powerful forces obstruct the path of progress. Among these is organized labor, which fears a shortage of work, if prison goods are disposed of in the open market. The parole system, also, as carried on today, is producing little results. It is not the system itself that is at fault, but its political maladministration. The favoritism exercised by parole boards, and the application of the system to other than first offenders, and other defects, spell disaster.

The Catholic Bishops sketched the following status of society at their recent meeting in Washington. "The net result of the vices that afflict our civilization can be seen in the . . . dishonesty in financial circles, the crookedness in business, corruption in politics, perversion or maladministration of justice, murder, suicide, robbery, racketeering, kidnaping and violence. [These are] merely lurid manifestations of the general demoralization which has doomed millions to unemployment, famine, and despair."

But there are also unmistakable signs that we are in the throes of a new and better era. The economic teaching of "Quadragesimo Anno" is attracting the attention of the world, and the other great Encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI are the leaven that will effect the change in the whole mass, and make the world a happy place to live in.

Education

The Year in Catholic Education

CHARLES N. LISCHKA

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THE question asked at the outset of this review last year is again the one calling for the first answer, "How has the depression affected Catholic schools?" Reports received at N. C. W. C. headquarters last June from 71 Archdioceses and Dioceses, showed that in 54 of them not a single Catholic educational institution of any kind was closed during the last school year. In some Dioceses it was possible not only to stave off the closing of schools, but also to open new institutions. In some of the 17 Sees that reported closings of any kind, the shutting down of one school was offset by the opening of another. In still others, where there were closings that were not offset, the action was taken not as the abandonment

of a project in the face of bad times, but as the exercise of foresight, which, seeking better school administration, would have dictated the closing even in days of prosperity. A total of only 29 schools were closed in the 17 Sees, and these closings affected only 2,800 out of the 1,940,000 pupils that were attending elementary and secondary schools in the Archdioceses and Dioceses reporting.

Later information, available since the opening of the present school year, is remarkably revealing, and, while it constitutes bad news from some quarters, it is on the whole most encouraging. Although the facts are fragmentary, they can nevertheless serve as a fair index of the general situation. In 17 Archdioceses and Dioceses

only 3 schools failed to open. In 5 of these jurisdictions, the teachers are being regularly paid; in the rest they are only partially paid, and in the case of some schools in several dioceses not at all, the number of unpaid teachers, by diocese, running from 20 per cent to over 50 per cent in one instance. In 10 of the Dioceses in question, no parish or school has been forced to default on interest payments; in several, less than 6 schools defaulted; in one, nearly half of 160 schools. In 15 of the 17 jurisdictions, no children were turned away from Catholic schools in September. In one Diocese 2,700 out of 50,000 were turned away. In 5 Dioceses there is an increased enrolment.

Let us see what "the generals in the field," the diocesan superintendents, say about the course of the conflict. Herewith are samples, objectively chosen:

"I think that the depression has hit the Sisters more than any one else connected with the schools."

"The principal effect of the depression registers in the inability to enlarge existing plants or open new ones."

"Many of our pupils are in school without textbooks."

"Our school population has increased."

"Our enrolment has increased, but this is due primarily to the fact that a number of public schools have been closed. . . . The depression has affected our schools mostly from the point of view of the parents' inability to pay tuition, and in many cases their inability to feed the children. Last year the superintendent's office gave over 19,000 luncheons during the school year."

"The private academies and high schools have suffered, as many pupils cannot pay, but they have not turned away a single pupil for that reason. All Communities are receiving little if anything from the schools for the support of the motherhouse."

"Times are hard, especially in rural parishes, but all are 'carrying on' valiantly. Many parishes which have paid little or no salary to Sisters this year will make up in whole or in part in the near future."

There is the record, for any proud Catholic to look at! There are, of course, dark spots that I have not indicated, such as the closing of some small colleges, and the difficulties of not a few of the large ones; but, on the other hand, we have established some new institutions and expanded some old ones. The outstanding and comforting facts are that less than one half of one per cent of our schools have been closed, that none of our Religious teachers are in want, and that the Catholic people appear determined to pay their just debts to their schools and their teachers. Many a Catholic could look at the record with greater pride if he had dug more deeply into his pocket.

In view of the depression, it is only natural that the question of State aid should be agitated. The Bishops in Ohio petitioned the Governor of the State for such aid, in a statement at once dignified, clear, and cogent. What the Catholics of Ohio sought was not a share of the general public-school fund, but a return to them of their contribution to an emergency fund to be raised for the relief of public education. The Attorney-General rendered an

adverse ruling on the proposal, and the legislature failed, by the merest margin in voting, to give the necessary two-thirds for statutory authorization. In Louisiana, some Catholic leaders have suggested that relief for parish schools be provided through the issuance of State warrants of tuition payment to parents of educable children, leaving the selection of the school to the parent. The legislature of Oklahoma has passed a law looking toward the coordination of all higher education within the State, and opening the way for public subsidies for private and Church controlled colleges.

While on the subject of school support, I might give a few figures, picked at random, showing the amount of money that Catholics are saving the public annually by the separate maintenance of their schools. In the city of Syracuse, it amounts to \$800,000; in Kansas City, Mo., to \$1,000,000; in the Diocese of Omaha, to \$1,200,000; in the city of Baltimore, to \$2,500,000; in the city of Chicago, to \$24,000,000.

Little legislation affecting Catholic schools was passed during the year. New Mexico authorized the furnishing of free textbooks to all the school children of the State. Illinois and Colorado passed laws forbidding discrimination against teachers in the public schools on religious grounds. Indiana and Illinois enacted statutes providing for the transportation in public-school buses of children attending private and parish schools. Wisconsin amended the teachers' certification laws to the effect that teaching experience in private schools may be accepted as in fulfillment of the requirements for certain State certificates.

In the general school figures a slight decrease will be noticed, which it is neither necessary nor practicable to attempt to explain here. The figures are as follows: 7,942 elementary schools, with 58,680 teachers and 2,193,000 pupils; 2,250 secondary schools, with 14,300 teachers and 250,000 students; 46 normal schools, with 564 teachers and 9,000 students; 174 colleges and universities, with 7,768 teachers and 110,000 students; and 182 major and minor seminaries, with 1,900 teachers and 20,000 students.

Before closing I must note that the Bishops' "Statement on the Present Crisis" contains a section devoted to education. The whole Statement is memorable, and the observations on the crisis in education are certainly the soundest yet made on the subject.

Catholic education can face the coming year with confidence. At the last meeting of the National Catholic Educational Association, the Most Rev. John B. Peterson, Bishop of Manchester, gave the reasons why Catholic schools will survive and flourish, as follows: (1) because we educate for eternity and must not be dismayed by the vicissitudes of time; (2) because of the heroic work being done by the Sisters and Brothers; (3) because our capital investment in schools represents also a spirit of devotion to Catholic education; (4) because it will be less expensive in the future to conduct Catholic schools; (5) because we have the example of courageous parish-school pioneers who overcame greater difficulties than ours, to sustain us and spur us on; (6) and finally, because in following our own ideals we know we have been right.

Literature

Farewell to Freud

FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY

IT was not until the fall of the year that the softer voice of literature could be heard above the hubbub of technocracy, the new deal, the German revolution, Marxist panaceas and all the burning questions which shall inevitably become the cinders of history. Nineteen thirty-three was the golden year of propaganda and pamphlets, warnings and reprisals, in which Fascists and Communists and Liberals were all amusingly vehement and sincerely futile, a year in which every writer became for a time at least an amateur economist. It was something of a shock therefore to find that the newer and more important novelists and critics had in the meantime changed the whole outlook of literature.

Superficially at least fiction followed the old grooves. John Galsworthy published "Flowering Wilderness" and "One More River," stories which continued his Charwell series, the last books of one of the last gentlemen of letters. Maugham, Walpole, Edith Wharton, Wells, Tarkington, a mixed company whose differences time has resolved, were all represented, and Arnold Bennett left us his journal before he died. And with these craftsmen of the old order there were Sinclair Lewis and Ford Madox Ford whose "Ann Vickers" and "The Rash Act" reproduced the dismal tone of the post-war depression, and the younger sadists, Erskine Caldwell, author of "God's Little Acre" and James Farrell who wrote "Gas House McGinty." Everything indeed seemed very much the same. The critics were still over-praising William Faulkner's brutality and the cult of naturalism; the pedants still walked with the strut of science; social historians still regarded traditional morality as an unseemly garment handed down by our medieval brothers; blurb writers still announced "devastating attacks" upon God or man or the universe.

Actually there has been a great change in the current of fiction. Notwithstanding the survival of emotional bleakness, of crude sociology, of morbid satire in books like "Ann Vickers" and to a lesser extent in "Union Square" and "The Last Adam," the great majority of successful writers have repudiated the pessimism of their predecessors. The enormous popularity of "Anthony Adverse," which is nothing more than a reassertion of faith in the heroic man, the critical attention which has been given to the superb historical novel of Kenneth Roberts, "Rabble in Arms," the triumph of heroic simplicity in Rose Wilder Lane's "Let the Hurricane Roar" and in Gladys Carroll's "As the Earth Turns," are all indications that readers and writers alike have been disgusted with the romantic pottage of our hitherto adolescent literature. The irrational sadness of the effeminate Proustian, tolerable perhaps in the stuffy drawing room of the esthetes, vaporizes in a workaday world where things are accomplished through the very simple virtue of trying to do one's best.

The rejection of static sadness is not confined to the newer writers who naturally bring to their work a closer sympathy with the present and a deeper knowledge of the generations as yet too youthful to express their preferences. Established authors who have already acquired a definite point of view, accommodated themselves to this saner realism. Louis Bromfield abandoned the Green Bay Tree theme to write a well-balanced novel called "The Farm"; in the drama, Eugene O'Neil shuffled off the psychic coil of complexes and frustrations in his "Ah, Wilderness!" and "Days Without End"; H. M. Tomlinson, one of the most sensitive of modern writers, searched for the strange and bitter beauties of the spirit in "The Snows of Helicon." The attitude of these older writers is infinitely more significant than the moods of their successors, not only because theirs is a reasoned rather than a fashionable position, but also because they can integrate the valuable technique and materials of the old realism into the literature of the new day. Without them I fear we might drift back to extreme and innocuous gentility.

Eloquent books, half-realism, half-tender recollection, like Violet Clifton's magnificent "The Book of Talbot" and Nora Waln's "House of Exile" flourished in a wave of sturdy sentiment. The mucker pose has become so unfashionable that Jim Tully's next novel may be called quaint. The hard-boiled people who came so close to life that they could smell and feel but not see it have come to prefer the honest, naive delight in incident and adventure, whether it flows in the straightforward narrative of Maurice O'Sullivan's "Twenty Years A-Growing" or in the more suggestive shadows of L. A. G. Strong's "Sea Wall." There is a new trust in man, in the soul and its higher experiences, a trust which is emphasized by well-nigh universal praise bestowed upon a distinguished Irish novelist, Francis Stuart. Although his "Pigeon Irish" aroused much comment in 1932 it was not until this year when he offered in rapid succession "The Coloured Dome," "Try the Sky," and "Glory" that his real stature became apparent. Stuart undoubtedly has his limitations; his mysticism is certainly not of the supernatural character of the saints he frequently mentions, but his intentions are so obviously noble, his utterance so thrillingly poetic, his enthusiasm so completely persuasive that he shocks the reader into spiritual awareness. His overstatement of ancient wisdom is a sharp, primitive, realistic challenge to the defeatists who are given to the understatement of ancient stupidity.

This modification of the theme and manner of the 'twenties, the twin obsessions of sex and science, is also marked by the trend towards the historical novel and stories of the sea. In addition to Roberts' "Rabble in Arms," the sequel to the still popular "Arundel," and of course "Anthony Adverse," there were "Jonathan Bishop" and "Pageant," and among the sea stories three notable books, "Bird of Dawning," by John Masefield, "Long Pennant," by Oliver La Farge and "No More Sea," by Wilson Follett. And in this general abandonment of the esoteric positions in literature it was pleasant

to note several very fine novels by Catholic authors, one of them at least a very fine Catholic novel as well. Paul Horgan wrote a gentle but none the less effective satire of provincial estheticism in "The Fault of Angels"; Sheila Kaye-Smith continued the Sussex theme in "Gipsy Waggon"; Sigrid Undset wrote a somewhat undramatic story about modern marriage in "Ida Elisabeth," and Helen C. White achieved an artistic triumph in her remarkable recreation of Jacopone da Todi in "A Watch in the Night."

The sobriety and the critical optimism which characterized so much of the fiction likewise marked biography. Winston Churchill's "Marlborough," J. L. Garvin's "Joseph Chamberlain," and E. F. Benson's "Edward VII" were far removed from the romantic impressionism of the imitators of Strachey and Maurois. The distinct triumph of 1933, however, was Violet Clifton's "Book of Talbot," a biography of the writer's husband which glows with a rare personal feeling. There were two other histories of high literary merit "Charles I," by Hilaire Belloc, and "Junipero Serra," by Agnes Repplier, the first written in a scholarly dudgeon, and the second in classic prose. Nor can we overlook the very real contributions to Catholic intelligence in this field. Christopher Hollis' "Erasmus," Father Schwertner's "St. Albert the Great," Joseph Clayton's "St. Anselm," together with the "St. Jerome" of Paul Monceau (a translation), "Thomas More," by Daniel Sargent, and "John Henry Newman," by J. Eliot Ross partially fulfil the growing demand for contemporary interpretation of great historical figures who have hitherto remained indistinct.

The poets talked more than they wrote, but as usual they talked beautifully and profoundly. The chief argument concerned the dead-end proposition, should poetry have a meaning; or, as Archibald MacLeish puts it, simply be? T. S. Eliot and A. E. Housman both lectured entertainingly, the former on "The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism" and the latter on "The Name and Nature of Poetry," and Theodore Maynard managed to include in his textbook "A Preface to Poetry" enough of his own rich and mellow experience to make his pedagogy palatable. Yeats, in his "Collected Poems" and in a new volume, "The Winding Stair," gave us the only major verse of the year, unless one considers Archibald MacLeish's invocation to the social muse important. "Talifer," by Edward Arlington Robinson, Walter de la Mare's "The Fleeting and Other Poems," and John Masefield's poetic drama of Mary Stuart "End and Beginning," were the ordinary perennials of competent artists.

The new poetry was variously represented by the syn-copated "Collected Poems" of the late Hart Crane, by the invisible contrasts of Ezra Pound's "A Draft of XXX Poems" and by lofty rhetoric of William Rose Benét's "Starry Harness." Sara Teasdale's last book, "Strange Victory," is a gentle and delicate farewell of a very weak but lovable character. It is also noteworthy that G. K. Chesterton's "Queen of the Seven Swords" was not the only book of poetry written in the Catholic spirit. Three American poets, all of whom incidentally are leaders in

the Catholic Poetry Society, have published new poems this year. Mary Dixon Thayer's "Sonnets," technically perfect, perhaps a little too fragile to be called great, Father Leonard Feeney's "Riddle and Reverie," which is the epitome of serious laughter, and Benjamin Musser's "Poems," are notable additions to the growing body of Catholic poetical literature.

In a year singularly characterized by the widespread and sincere effort in literature to reconstruct the individual and social bulwarks which an ignorantly cruel youth had smashed in the 'twenties one can, of course, find much to praise. In a purely literary sense it is true there were few books of permanent value, but the stage has been set for the revival of the idea of order. Appropriately, 1933 witnessed the introduction of a whole body of traditional intelligence through the establishment in this country of the publishing house of Sheed and Ward and through the foundation of the new *American Review*. The centenary of the Oxford Movement and the renewed interest in the personality of Cardinal Newman, a more vigorous representation of traditional culture by Catholic and non-Catholic thinkers alike, all seemed to indicate aggressive participation of Catholic thought in the intellectual life of America.

This indication, if I may strike a dismal note, is false. I do not mean to minimize some of the very outstanding Catholic books, the biographies of Belloc and Repplier, or the fiction and poetry which were mentioned above. And G. K. Chesterton's essays "All I Survey" and "St. Thomas Aquinas," Jacques Maritain's "Theonas," Eric Gill's "Beauty Looks After Herself," Christopher Dawson's "Enquiries into Religion and Culture" and "The Modern Dilemma," Paul Claudel's "Ways and Crossways," Ronald Knox's "Broadcast Minds" and "Sanctions," as well as Father Gillis's "This Our Day" are undoubtedly effective expressions of different phases of Catholic thought.

To these books should be added two volumes, "The Challenge of Humanism," by Louis J. A. Mercier, and "Art and Artist," by Otto Rank, the former a very able defense of philosophical realism and the latter a merciless investigation of Freudian esthetics. And yet these books and many others which obviously cannot be catalogued here have only a general application to modern American life. There are, of course, a number of exceptions. Father Gillis and Miss Repplier talk companionably to the average American reader, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, but I more than suspect that the academic essays of French and British thinkers are more valuable to their fellow-students than they are to the audience they seek to persuade. America will listen only to its own idiom and until the Catholic point of view is phrased to suit its ear I am afraid that it will remain a point of view instead of becoming a rule of action.

Even though Catholic writers made only a slight impression upon the modern mind, 1933 has probably marked a turning point in literary history. One cannot, of course, tell at close range whether the reaction signifies a temporary relaxation or a permanent departure, but

this much at least is certain, the book of the future must have more to recommend it than a series of disjointed sensations or the reproduction of the more vulgar phases of consciousness. The psychological method has come to stay; the poet, dramatist, novelist, even the biographer of the future cannot afford to ignore this convention, however much he disagrees with its originators. The more one thinks of it the more apparent it becomes that Spengler's "The Decline of the West" was the swan song of despair and that in 1933 literature bade a long farewell to Freud. The prophets of the raven have yielded to the prophets of the dove.

REVIEWS

Sarah Bernhardt. By G. G. GELLER. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$2.75.

In attempting to capture the personality and dramatic career of such an exotic, sparkling creature as Sarah Bernhardt, biographers run the risk of coloring the story too vividly, of over-phrasing, of calling too often upon metaphor, to the detriment of straight, informing narrative. The author of this newest life of the great actress, however, controls his material, never allowing it to tangle with personal enthusiasms or prejudices. He presents a balanced, carefully organized biography, touching upon the eccentricities of the actress only for embellishment. We follow the masterful Sarah from the cloister garden of a convent school, to her two years of preparatory dramatic work under Provost at the Paris Conservatoire, to the first official launching upon her career in Racine's "Iphigénie en Aulide" at the Comédie-Française, through the many stormy breaches with directors and managers, the many disastrous love episodes, the many petty dissensions with rivals like Eleanora Duse, through the many successes as Theodora, Phèdre, Hamlet, L'Aiglon, Fedora, Ophelia, La Dame aux Camélias, through the brilliant contacts of her career, along the frivolous margin of her life, her hobbies and eccentricities, to her death in 1923 at the age of seventy-nine in her home on the Boulevard Perrière, Paris. After a reading of these chapters, aided by thirteen reproductions from character photographs, one really knows Bernhardt. Mr. Geller's style is direct, arresting here and there by neat phrasing, but never distinguished. He has a gift for clever characterization that is largely responsible for the general vividness of the book. Sarah's mother, the moody Julie Bernard, is ably etched; her estranged husband, Aristide Damala, is an unforgettable figure of a drug addict; George Sand, the old lady strolling in the Luxembourg Gardens, is deftly handled as contrast to the young, vivacious Sarah. Devotees of the theater and its stars and the more cultured public will receive this book graciously.

E. H. B.

The American Catholic Who's Who, 1934-1935. Detroit: Walter Romig and Company. \$3.75.

The intention of the compilers of this book, according to the Preface, was to make it "a muster-roll of men and women of achievement," and for this they labored "over a period of four years . . . to make this compilation truly representative, and, so far as possible complete and accurate in detail." Even a casual glance over its pages indicates that their effort was made with more zeal than discretion. The lack of the encyclopedic acquaintance and wide-spread intimacy necessary for a successful editorial direction of such a reference book is painfully manifest. The official titles, for instance, of all the bishops are not correctly stated; the office and location of many other ecclesiastics are inaccurately given, two men are made holding the same position in several institutions; there are a number of non-Catholics, ex-Catholics, and dead men listed; inaccurate, insufficient and haphazard guesses at details give absurd conclusions. Imagine the great and only Al Smith set down as still living at 25 Oliver St.! The names of

those worthy of inclusion in such a "Who's Who," and not so mentioned, would total in the hundreds. It is stated that it is intended to revise the book for biennial publication. This revision should begin at once and be made by some one familiar with the great personages of our country. Many of the 6,000 names listed in the book will be dropped out and many more that should be there inserted—if it is to attain its value as a standard compilation of authority.

T. F. M.

England's Elizabeth. By MILTON WALDMAN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50.

The chicanery of the Virgin Queen and the dubious diplomacy of her ministers, regulated by the cult of expediency, are related anew in this book. The author develops the interesting thesis of Elizabeth's first and only love, England, dominating all her actions during a turbulent period of nationalistic growth. Much indeed has been written concerning the private life and loves of England's red-haired Queen but such efforts pale into insignificance beside the story of her fierce passion for her country. England was her husband. For England this linguistically inclined, hawk-nosed, shrill-cursing virgin fought tooth and nail; she lied, bullied, slandered, blackmailed, stole. Her will was England's will; on her decision hung England's fate. In no small measure was the metamorphosis in sixteenth-century English life, socially, politically, morally and culturally, due to her vibrant, histrionic personality. An expedient policy was always her guide. She was not an idealist but a hard-headed, practical ruler with a recondite knowledge of all the tricks of the trade of statecraft, as practised in her time, and, with few exceptions, applicable even today. She transformed her country from an insignificant island into a far-flung world-empire and herself into the woman who remains to this day the most vital in English history. While receiving adulation from her fawning courtiers at home, she graciously condoned the piratical acts of Drake, Raleigh, and Hawkins in their pillaging of the treasure-laden Spanish galleons. Certainly the prudent and cunning Queen was a master of policy, in the literal meaning of the word. She had one definite objective in mind, England's glorification, and would brook no obstacles to its attainment. As to the permanence and value of the attainments of her chaotic reign the dispassionate historian cannot fail to perceive among them a rejuvenation of the English spirit, a pride of race and tradition which has remained characteristically English to the present day. Through the medium of a well modulated prose, Mr. Waldman unfolds the variegated panorama of sixteenth-century life with complete authenticity, as his quite complete bibliography bears evidence. His treatment of the usual Elizabethan themes is novel and interesting. Of especial interest is his account of Elizabeth's dealings with the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots, and his masterly comparison of their characters. Mr. Waldman's efforts are to be commended. He has written an exceptionally fine biography of England's Virgin Queen.

E. J. C.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. V: The Indian Empire, 1858-1918. Edited by H. H. DODWELL. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$7.00.

Here is a work highly interesting to any intelligent reader, and of most special assistance to the student of government. Avoiding technicalities, and expressing political and social intricacies peculiar to India's complicated civilization, in language that is at once clear, succinct, and entertaining, the editor of this book has accomplished a difficult and trying task with gratifying success. The progress of incidents that led to the gradual displacement of the once all-powerful East India Company and to the ultimate substitution of Government control is related with a clarity of diction and a fidelity to sequence of events that is fascinating and convincing. Taking the conditions that existed at the beginning of the great Mutiny, which ended in 1858, as the starting point, the story of British influence, administration, and government is carried down to the close of the World War in 1918. It is an

exciting period, for within this limited time are crowded many of the most important problems—social, economic, political, financial, intellectual, religious—that can confront any civil government. That they were met, and, for the most part, solved with substantial justice and equity is a tribute of distinction to the character of British statesmanship. A bibliography, a chronological list, and an index close the volume.

M. J. S.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Literary Studies.—Elisabeth Schneider, in a very careful study "The Aesthetics of William Hazlitt" (University of Pennsylvania Press. \$2.00), gives us an interpretation of the philosophical basis of Hazlitt's criticism, and of Hazlitt himself as the most modern of all the prose writers of his time. His philosophy as such is traced to its sources, contrasted with other popular philosophies, and read to satisfy the demands of the higher hedonistic esthete. His theory of painting is shown chiefly by a contrast to that of Reynolds and the extreme idealists. By far the most interesting part of the book is the excellent treatment of Hazlitt's application of esthetic theory to literature, which will prove a help to all interested in the better understanding of true esthetic appreciation as opposed to pure sentimentalism. The book reads like an extended and interesting footnote to Hazlitt's complete works.

A charming collection by Vincent Starrett is "The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes" (Macmillan. \$2.00), containing much knowledge gleaned from the many stories written by A. Conan Doyle. The author has expressed his researches and fanciful ruminations in a pleasant and entertaining style. He informs us that many of Holmes' mannerisms, as well as his physical appearance, were derived from Dr. Joseph Bell, a former instructor of Dr. Doyle. Mr. Starrett writes also of the methods of Holmes, lists some of the many cases mentioned but never written of by Dr. Watson, the impersonators of the famous detective, and many other interesting bits of information. He includes an extensive bibliography, and the book may almost be called required reading for the ardent admirers of Sherlock Holmes.

The "giant" series of the Modern Library has added, "Twelve Famous Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century" (Modern Library. \$1.00.) embracing the more generally known plays of the period, with a very excellent introduction to the Restoration and Eighteenth-century theater by Prof. Cecil A. Moore of the University of Minnesota. Sheridan and Congreve are represented by two plays each, and Wycherly, Dryden, Otway, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Gay, Garrick, and Goldsmith one each. The selection is representative. Many of the plays have been revived in New York during the past decade, particularly Congreve and Sheridan, while the others are well known to the student of the theater.

Biographies.—Three delightful studies by Prof. W. F. P. Stockley of University College, Cork, "Essays in Irish Biography" (Longmans, Green. \$2.40) deal with Thomas Moore, Canon Sheehan, and Dr. Richard Hennebry. Moore's patriotism and his religion supply separate themes. For the first the conclusion is that "he helped to turn the Irish into imitators of another country, ashamed of their own traditions and ideals"; for the second: "he was of that early nineteenth-century superficial school of Liberalism." For the legions of admirers of the creator of "Daddy Dan" and the "New Curate," there will be special pleasure in the pages devoted to "Canon Sheehan and His People." And the admirers of the sturdy apostle of the Gaelic revival will find equal satisfaction in what is written of Dr. Hennebry and what he accomplished.

In "My Daughter Bernadette" (Humphries. \$2.50), Francis Jammes lovingly contemplates his baby daughter and follows those lines of reflection which her activities suggest—activities so trifling as a ride in her coach or so important as her first Corpus Christi procession. Many of these thoughts are beautiful, and beautifully expressed, redolent of old, provincial country fragrances.

Eclipse. Broken Arrow. The Days of Eighty-Nine. The Old Man Dies.

With Soviet recognition an accomplished fact, and an ever-increasing number of Russian novels and books flooding the literary market, "Eclipse" (Dial. \$2.00), by Alexander H. Carasso, should prove informative and interesting to many readers. The author, a Russian refugee living at present in New York, evidently is well acquainted with both Czarist and Soviet regimes. His story deals with a member of the American Embassy in Russia, who stays on in that unhappy country after his confreres have departed for the home land. There is a delicate touch of criticism in the assistance which this young man tries to give singlehandedly to his deserted American brethren, and a poignant pathos in the help he advances to the nobility of Russia who knew a better day. We are permitted to see life as it is lived under Soviet discipline, and we have described for us in awful and terrifying reality many an ugly incident in the struggle for existence of a nation that knows not God. It is not the work of a fanatic, and it is not written in an angry or passionate strain; for the author brings out many a human quality in the present-day rulers of Russia, while he exposes the evils of a system that substitutes but does not destroy inequality and injustice.

Levi Horse-Afraid and his friends are young Indians of today in "Broken Arrow" (Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.00) by Robert Gessner. They gamble, drink, drive flivvers, dance; they are starved upon barren reservations and victimized by a school system more vicious than any prison. In the end, Levi dies of tuberculosis; what will become of his friends and his girl, only a merciless government can say. The book thus is a plea for justice; a plea, some say, that is now being heard. It also is a sociologic study, for it shows clearly the confused, debased society of reservation and rodeo. It also is a serious novel, for its characters assume the reality of life, reacting in thoroughly human ways to situations that also are real. There is lean economy in both description and action which presents, more convincingly than could explicit words, the discouraged lassitude of the reservation Indian. He knows that to do, to hope, or to think, means disappointment or punishment, and he keys his conduct accordingly. The results are what one might expect—though no book other than this has shown them so convincingly. Though not great, "Broken Arrow" is unusually good, holding an almost unique place in the literature of the Western Indian.

Romance, the fever of battle, and the bliss of returning home unharmed after an absence in military training and active service in India are depicted with realism in Albert Fernandes' "The Days of Eighty-Nine" (Meador. \$1.50). Aside from the romantic element, the narrative has a historical value in the facts about the Battle of Wounded Knee fought at the close of 1890. The author's statement that his hero, William Allen, is a man of flesh and blood, heightens the interest. For the thriller fan the change of setting from the wild West of America to far off India should prove delightful.

Elizabeth Sprigge, in "The Old Man Dies" (Macmillan. \$2.50), makes Thomas Rushbrooke a dominant influence upon the lives of the large group which comprised his family. His children, step-children, and grandchildren, all gathered in the living room of their paternal home, awaiting the news of the old man's death, are a varied lot. Each is inwardly planning upon the death of the old man. But the O. M., as he is called, does not choose to die for their convenience. The Rushbrookes, returning to their respective homes, faced their domestic and financial problems as best they could—the powerful will of old Thomas overshadowing their every action. When least expected, the old man dies leaving his personality to dominate them the rest of their lives. How the Rushbrookes, a motley group, fared before and after the O. M.'s death provides very interesting reading. This unusual novel presents a striking domestic situation seen through the eyes of a markedly varied set of individuals. Rich in excellent character portrayal, it should attract much attention from the reading public.

Communications

Letters to ensure publication should not, as a rule, exceed 500 words. The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.

The President's Gesture

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I cannot have been the only American Catholic who breathed a sigh of relief and of satisfaction on reading a dispatch from Rome in the *New York Times* for December 10. It had been rumored that Litvinov's visit to Rome might be the occasion of indirect contact between Russia and the Holy See. Of itself such a report could not disturb. The Holy See had had dealings with Moscow in the earlier days of the Bolshevik régime, to promote relief-work among the starving and to attempt to save ecclesiastical art-treasures from desecration. In the recent instance there was thought to be question of something more: the Vatican would perhaps be encouraged by the religious clause which Russia accepted as part price of American recognition to think of attempting in her turn to come to a stable understanding with the Soviet Union. Unofficial, but apparently reliable, report now indicates that such an expectation was unfounded; and, specifically, that the Vatican failed to see grave significance in the American stipulation of religious liberty for American nationals living in Russia.

A different opinion on this latter score seems to have obtained some currency here. In fact our President appears to have thought it should, since in his first public utterance after the agreement with Litvinov he invited his Georgia listeners to rejoice in the assurance that henceforth Americans would be free to worship God as they pleased in Russia. For my part, I had not heard that that issue was one of great actuality. I do not recall complaints that Americans had been subjected to persecution for worshipping God as they pleased in Russia. I do not think of any Government that has emphasized complaints of that tenor from its nationals who choose to live there. I do not see that the promise obtained from Litvinov concerns anything whatsoever that Soviet Russia does not pretend to have been vouchsafing foreigners in Russia all along. To have obtained that such a promise be made in writing, and in advance, has perhaps had, on our President's part, the value of a wholesome gesture—a gesture counter to what is euphemistically called the amorism of international politics.

But a wholesome gesture it will not have been if we permit it to hoodwink us. To regard the religious clause as the thin edge of an entering wedge apt to penetrate eventually the interior sentiment of Russia would be anything but realistic. Just how sanguine a hope one may entertain of the religious qualifications of our American colony in Moscow we need not undertake to ponder. This, at all odds, is obvious: the moment American religious example in Russia should be thought to have an appreciable influence on Russians, at that moment in the strict and necessary logic of Bolshevik principles it would cease to be mere religious example; it would have become political propaganda, a counter-revolutionary force. Well, we have bound ourselves by promise, too, strictly reciprocal; we eschew in advance all political propaganda in Russia. Under the circumstances the religious clause, even if observed with a mediocre imitation of honor by the Soviet Government, secures, it seems to me, not a tittle more than could have been expected in any case. It was not properly even a concession on the part of Russia; her gesture was one of inexpensive expediency.

The position taken by the Vatican is all the more telling when contrasted with the willingness consistently shown by the Holy Father to make terms with Governments in many respects most unpromising—in Italy, Mexico, Spain, and Germany. Catholics in America can certainly do no better than take a lesson from his

example of strict reserve toward Russia. He will treat with Moscow when Moscow is prepared to avow a radical change in her religious policy. We have elected, for considerations of greater or lesser weight in the temporal order, to treat with a radically, militantly, essentially atheistic régime. Let us at least face the fact, and be wary.

Milford, Ohio.

EDGAR R. SMOTHERS, S.J.

Apostles' Obstacles

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The article, "Campaigning for Tolerance in Texas," by John Joseph Gorrell, appearing in the issue of *AMERICA* for November 4 is a very good presentation of a noble work long unrecognized and unheeded by the Catholics of this country. A few incidents in the lives of Father Francis J. Ledwig, the Apostle of Tolerance, and of Dr. Gorrell, as witnessed by this correspondent while collaborating in the campaign work during the spring and summer, may acquaint some doubting Catholics with the fact that intolerance *does* exist and that there are still those whose work in the cause turns one's thoughts to the days of the chosen Twelve.

In every town visited permission for the lectures was given grudgingly by those in power and with a spirit of suspicion and half-hearted co-operation that was not dispelled until near the close of the series of lectures during the week. In Llano, Tex., permission to use the town's lecture platform was absolutely refused with no reason offered. In this same town (as in many others) questions placed in the question box compelled the missionary to apologize to the fair-minded while answering those whose minds were so warped as to attack the fundamentals of decency in their questions about various Catholic doctrines and institutions.

Religious conditions in Pearsall, Tex., had reached such a stage that a Catholic priest had been refused admission to a public hospital when a Catholic patient requested his visit. The fact that Sabinal and Knippa, Tex., two of the towns on Father Ledwig's itinerary for December, have no Catholic place of worship and that Uvalde is the home of Klan No. 256 (with a building advertising this information beneath its electrically-lighted cross) may give some further idea of the conditions encountered.

Bellevue, Pa.

MARTIN F. WALSH, JR.

Unlawful!

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Now that Russia is recognized and it is presumed that our steel and manufacturing industries are to profit by the business they will do with Russia, permit me to demonstrate what appears a leak in the NRA.

Although these industries are very effectually mechanized today, one must not be too steadfast in maintaining that they cannot become more so, thereby shortening the payroll of many a factory. But since the initial costs of installing new and more efficient machines are great, these industries have been biding their time. However, when the profits warrant, many of these will do so even to the further embarrassment of re-employment efforts. Russian trade, it would seem from the way its proponents advocated recognition, offers promise of such profits, and if "dumping" is to be permitted, these gains for the steel and manufacturing industries are ultimately charged to our producer and consumer of commodities. So while these latter will be suffering and the former increasing the differential between cost of production and the selling price, all will be rushing to their own destruction.

Now since it is the function of government to legislate for the common good, even so far as to regulate the use of things privately owned, it certainly seems that the construction of a less-manned machine than one which already exists should be illicit, especially during this crisis. Perhaps *AMERICA* may see fit to bring this thought to the attention of legislators while the time is yet ripe for action.

Keansburg, N. J.

DANIEL J. CONNOLLY.

Chronicle of 1933

HOME NEWS

Legislative.—From January to March economic conditions had continued to grow worse until industrial production in March was forty-five per cent below normal. In the first week of March, all banks were closed and a serious crisis faced the country. In his inaugural speech President Roosevelt issued a challenge to the depression and shortly thereafter called a special session of Congress to pass emergency legislation. His program contained two general heads: a policy of immediate relief, and one of reconstruction of industry, farming, and banking. Under the head of relief various agencies were set up: the Public Works Administration (PWA) to expend \$3,000,000,000 in various projects in every State, with an added appropriation of \$300,000,000 for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) for direct relief through the States; a railroad administration under a coordinator, Joseph B. Eastman, principally to secure economies in operation and in buying; an Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) with a plan involving three alternative permissive proposals, principal of which was a system of benefits paid directly to farmers for crop reduction, the money to be raised by a processing tax; a civilian Conservation Corps, designed to employ 300,000 young men in various forestry projects; the Farm Credit Corporation, with \$2,000,000,000 available to refinance mortgages and stop foreclosures; a Commodity Credit Corporation to loan money through the RFC on grains, etc., held off the market; and a plan to re-open the banks gradually as their condition became sound, with loans available from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; and a Home Owners Loan Corporation to make available several millions to relieve the burden of mortgages. Under the head of reconstruction, the principal agencies were the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The National Industrial Recovery Act authorized the President to enter into agreements with associations representative of each industry for the two-fold purpose of stabilizing wages and employment and of organizing production in accordance with a unified plan. A special feature of this bill was the prohibition of child labor and the imposition by statute of the right of collective bargaining. The general purpose of the AAA was to bring together the millions of farmers so that there would be a planned production, a raising of prices, and an intelligent handling of exportable surplus. In the field of banking, the principal achievement was the divorce of investment companies from commercial banks, a series of amendments to the Federal Reserve Act, including control of loans to foreign countries, and a general insurance for deposits of amounts up to \$2,500. The securities act also introduced severe restrictions concerning the truth of representations made in marketing new securities.

Recovery Program.—General Hugh S. Johnson was appointed Administrator of the recovery program. All industries were invited to submit codes, and beginning in the month of June the codes began to be worked out. By December, 200 of these codes had been presented to the President, who estimated that seventy per cent of the employes in eligible industries were working under codes providing minimum wages and maximum hours, collective bargaining, etc. In addition to this, the industries engaged in the production of raw materials were given quotas of production. In view of the slowness in making the codes, a voluntary blanket recovery code was offered for business and industry and the "blue eagle" insignia were granted to those who signed this code, which included the minimum wages and maximum work hours. Previous to the signing of codes, feverish industrial activity took place in certain industries and in July business improved to nine per cent below normal; it thereafter declined and in October was twenty-seven per cent below normal as compared with forty-five per cent in March. Prices generally mounted and much discontent existed among the farmers, who complained that the NRA was hurting them; a wave of farm strikes spread over the country. This later abated as relief benefits began to reach them. The Government lent cotton farmers ten cents a pound on their crops and corn growers fifty cents a bushel, on condition that the farmers accept the crop-reduction plan. The Federal public-works program did not progress as rapidly as had been hoped, due to inertia in various localities and to the necessity of making long-range plans. To ease this situation, the President set up a civil-works program (CWA) so that money would immediately reach the unemployed in each locality. This reached more than 4,000,000 unemployed and supplied them with funds at a very critical moment.

Monetary.—On April 19, the United States went off the gold standard. An immediate drive was made against hoarders of gold who were ordered to return all outstanding gold under severe penalties. No penalties were ever imposed but all but \$2,000,000 in gold was said to have been returned. In September, the President began a series of moves planned to stabilize financial conditions and improve commodity prices. He removed the embargo from newly mined gold. In October he authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to establish a Government market for gold newly mined in the United States. The price, first set at \$31.36, rose gradually to \$34.06 an ounce in December. In December the President ratified the silver agreement of the London Economic Conference, with the net result that silver producers in the United States will receive 64½ cents an ounce for silver. The monetary program was attacked by the United States Chamber of Commerce, Alfred E. Smith, banking interests, and others. Protesting against it, several Treasury officials resigned. At the end of November, the public debt of the United States was \$23,534,115,771, the highest since 1921. The President, however, was giving serious attention to the new budget, preparatory to the coming Congressional session.

Constitutional Amendments.—The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution was formally ratified on January 23. It abolished the December "lame-duck" session of Congress, and provided that the President take office on January 20 instead of March 4. On December 5, the Twenty-first Amendment was ratified, repealing Prohibition.

Foreign Affairs.—The London Economic Conference at the end of June marked a definite change in American foreign relations. The President's dramatic refusal to agree to immediate currency stabilization turned the Administration's mind away from Europe and its problems toward a better economic understanding with Latin America. This was intensified by the failure of the President's representative, Norman Davis, in disarmament negotiations. The War debts remained in the same condition, and in December France and Belgium defaulted, while other countries paid in full or by a "token." On the other hand, general cooperation with Latin America was not a success at the Montevideo Conference, but the trade agreement with Colombia showed a general trend toward individual tariff reciprocity. The recognition of Russia by the United States was designed as a stabilizing influence in the event of war between Russia and Japan.

AUSTRIA

Torn by Political Factions.—Austria continued to fight its way through poverty, ruined industry, poor trade conditions, and endless political factions. Through a loan of \$40,000,000 made by France and England, and many concessions from creditors, the nation was able to continue to function. Chancellor Dollfuss with the complete confidence of President Miklas preserved a middle course, maintaining the independence and unity of the country against the powerful attacks of Socialists and Communists on the one hand and the Nazis and pro-Germans on the other. On March 6, the Chancellor dismissed Parliament and became Dictator while preparing a new Constitution. He warred on the Nazis who would tie Austria to Germany, and withstood Prince von Starhemberg in his demand for a pure Fascist State. His plan of a Fatherland Front, bringing all professions and organizations into a form of corporative union with representation of the people in a lower house, seemed to satisfy most of the conservatives. On October 3, the Chancellor suffered some slight wounds from a gun fired by Dertil, who was later sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Suffering Mitigated.—In spite of many favorable concessions made by the Powers to save Austria, the people had much to suffer, and the future was full of anxiety for everyone. Trade declined more than a third in 1932 and little had been restored in 1933, though friendly-nation-agreements were helping to open markets for the produce of the farms. Unemployment increased by 100,000, and this problem continued to be acute. The foreign debt mounted to \$500,000,000, but the League of Nations and World Bank were patiently helping the Government to carry on. After much negotiation the loan long promised was granted on August 10. Friendly trade

relations with Hungary and Italy, and encouraging support from France, which is vitally interested in keeping Austria independent of Germany, helped to revive business. The Catholic Bishops came out strongly for the poor and unemployed, and urged social justice to the makers of the laws. A great Catholic Congress was held in connection with the World Congress of Farmers on the occasion of the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Sobieski's victory at Vienna, and the Catholic social principles which should be respected by governments and corporations were clearly set forth.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

National Government Policies.—While Prime Minister MacDonald made the speeches, Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made British policy. At home, this meant a 600,000 reduction in unemployment by stimulation of export trade through a skilfully managed currency. The latter's effectiveness was enhanced by an increase from £150,000,000 to £350,000,000 in the exchange stabilization fund. By omitting provision for sinking fund, a substantial surplus was shown for the national budget. Economy and taxation were still the watchwords of the Conservative majority in Parliament, although the clamor was rising for some relief from income levies. Clydeside workers were cheered by the announcement that the Admiralty had decided to shift the emphasis in naval construction from small to large cruisers and that the Government would support plans for the completion of the giant liner No. 534. This was preliminary to a merger of the Cunard and White Star shipping interests. The Empire area of tariffs and quotas, outlined at Ottawa, produced many advantages for British agriculture and industry. In the foreign field, however, the textile mills of Lancashire suffered severely from the loss of markets in the Far East to Japan and the sharply depreciated yen. Although Sir John Simon paid numerous visits to Geneva and Paris, he was not successful either in reconciling France and Germany or in reestablishing faith in the crumbling fabric of the League of Nations. His protests to Moscow, however, backed by a trade embargo, effected the release of six engineers of Vickers-Metropolitan convicted by the Soviets for sabotage. With respect to the United States, negotiations for a readjustment of debts failed, although the stigma of default was avoided by a ten-per-cent token payment in silver. Due chiefly to dissatisfaction with the Government's apathy on peace and disarmament, the Laborites, including Arthur Henderson, won most of the by-elections during the year and increased their representation in the municipal councils by 242. Disagreeing with the Government on every issue except Indian policy, Sir Herbert Samuel and thirty-two Liberal M.P.'s went into His Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

Australia's Policy.—The Australian Government granted concessions to two chartered companies for a term of one-hundred years to populate the desert wilds of North Australia for defensive purposes at an approximate cost of £200,000,000. Moreover, when the

Commonwealth Government signed the international wheat agreement, the wheat growers of Australia were reconciled with a bounty of 2s 6½d a bushel, whereas the cost of production was estimated at 3s a bushel. The Lyons Ministry was confronted by the Country party for an increase in the lavish bounty, while the Labor party was fighting for State control. An investigation was planned to uncover the basic causes of the wheat growers' hardships.

Canada's Budget and Trade.—The presentation of the annual budget program was made by the Minister of Finance on March 21. The net debt amounted to \$2,599,089,000. This deficit was to be overcome by new proposals increasing income taxes in the higher brackets, and with additional increases in the taxation policy of the Government on corporations. The results emanating from the Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference were reported at the close of Parliament to be a steady increase in the volume of trade with the United Kingdom.

India's Program.—The British Government on March 17 issued the so-called *White Paper on India*, an official draft of the proposals to be incorporated in the Federal Constitution of India. The new Constitution called for a closer unification of the British Provinces and the States governed by the native Princes. The more intelligent Indian sentiment had been antagonistic to the proposals in the White Paper. As a protest against the discriminations practised by the high-caste Hindus against the untouchables, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a voluntary fast from May 8 to May 28. In opposition to Gandhi on July 14 the All-Indian Congress party adopted a resolution to suspend the Mass civil-disobedience campaign. The Mahatma won his point in the All-Indian National Conference at Poona to try the "individual civil-disobedience" campaign. The year saw Gandhi lose most of his popularity even among his chosen followers.

Iraq.—King Feisal of Iraq died suddenly in September, at Berne, Switzerland, after a hurried air trip from Baghdad for treatment of an ailment which he had long suffered. The King's death was attributed to a sudden heart attack. On the very day of the King's death, Crown Prince Ghasi, the King's young son, was proclaimed King Ghasi. The wholesale massacre of the Assyrians in Iraq was expected to be discussed at the next meeting of the League of Nations with Iraq in the rôle of defendant.

Party Politics in Ireland.—After dissolving the Dail on January 3, President de Valera of the Irish Free State went before the country vigorously campaigning for a severance of constitutional and political ties with Great Britain. Returns of the general elections of January 24 reinstated the Fianna Fail Government of Eamon de Valera to power. For a working majority in the Dail, an alliance with the Labor party was formed which secured the passage of many important bills that carried out de Valera's campaign promises. In September, former President Cosgrave formed a coalition party with the National Guards (Blue Shirts) and the Centre party resulting in the newly formed United Ireland party. Gen.

Owen O'Duffy, former Commissioner of Police, was elected the leader, with Mr. Cosgrave as chairman of this group in the Dail.

Annuities Withdrawn.—The Anglo-Irish treaty, followed by the annuities agreement of 1926, was long regarded by President de Valera as a truce forced upon Ireland by British political pressure. Due to the President's leadership in the Dail, the oath of allegiance was abolished and the suspension of the annuities payments came shortly after. British reprisals took the form of imposing high-custom duties on Irish imports into Britain. The Free State retaliated with duties of its own, running as high as forty per cent ad valorem. This tariff war raged for many months, causing untold hardships to the farmers, since nine-tenths of Ireland's commerce was with Great Britain. As a result, exports of Irish cattle are hardly half of what they were before the tariff war.

Threatened Secession.—After a long and bitter debate with the British Government, President de Valera raised the issue of secession in reply to statements made by J. H. Thomas, British Secretary for the Dominions. In a formal communication the President asked the British Government for a "direct and unequivocal" statement in answer to the question whether aggressive action would be taken if Ireland severed connection with the Commonwealth of Nations. An evasive reply that the question was purely "hypothetical" was the answer given.

Newfoundland's Status.—Following a report of a Royal Commission of Inquiry under the leadership of Lord Amulree which described political and financial conditions in Newfoundland as "desperate," the island was expected to lose its sovereignty under the emergency measure submitted to the House of Commons on November 21. The commission recommended a virtual Viceroy of Newfoundland with a Newfoundland commission Government consisting of three commissioners from the United Kingdom, three from Newfoundland. Consent of the Newfoundland Parliament had already been given. The House of Commons voted 227 to 38 to change the status of Newfoundland to a Crown Colony ruled from London.

Riots in Palestine.—Because of the large immigration into Palestine this year serious riots broke out among the Arab settlers who, having been refused a public demonstration of protest by Sir Arthur Greenfell Wauchope, the High Commissioner of Palestine, decided to disobey the warning of the Commissioner, which resulted in desperate hand-to-hand fighting between the British police and Arabs. On October 30, the "Palestine Defense Order" was proclaimed, which virtually gave the Commissioner dictatorial power over the disturbing elements. The Government adopted restrictive measures preventing unauthorized Jewish settlers to remain within the country.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Economic and Religious Conditions.—The trade balance remained favorable; finances fairly stable; but the budget, though reduced, was still burdened by heavy spending. The Episcopate, in January, condemned So-

cialist school plans. Religion, though not priestly vocations, increased among the students in Prague. Relations with the Holy See remained cordial, in spite of the disturbances resulting from the attacks made upon the Apostolic Nuncio, after the eleven-hundredth anniversary celebrations Nitra, in Slovakia.

Foreign Relations.—Alarm was felt over the growth of Hitlerism; and special powers given the Cabinet. The reorganization of the Little Entente strengthened the resistance against treaty revision.

FAR EAST

Nanking Loses Prestige.—October 10, the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic evoked many sorrowful comments from the Chinese press. The Nanking Government, they said, lost further prestige last year through the Japanese seizure of Jehol, the occupation of Peiping, and the shameful peace pact of Tangku. It also deplored the civil wars, the demands of Inner Mongolia for autonomy, the virtual independence of North China, the veiled hostility of Canton, and the Communist outrages in Kiangsi.

Peasants' Lot Worse.—Floods took thousands of lives and made millions homeless in the Yellow River valley. Grain and cotton prices were so low that peasants faced starvation, the lot of the common people seemed much worse than in the days of the Manchu Emperors.

Nationalism in Japan.—Communistic propaganda made little headway in Japan last year against the rise of militarism and capitalism. The Japanese press successfully diverted the wrath of peasants and craftsmen from their own hard lot to such patriotic issues as the protection of Japanese investments in China, the perils of night attacks by Soviet planes, and the nearness of war with the United States.

Nationalism Conquers Abroad.—Hence the seizure of Jehol in February, Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in March, her forceful penetration of China's Great Wall in April, her occupation of Peiping in May—all apparently to compel China's acquiescence. For the first time in history Japan forged ahead of Great Britain in the exportation of cotton cloth. The army and navy asked for \$347,000,000 adequately to defend the Empire in 1934. More than half of it was for new warships that Japan might demand naval parity with the United States and Great Britain at the Naval Conference in 1935.

FRANCE

Budget Troubles.—The budget, with a deficit officially estimated at 6,000,000,000 francs, was the chief source of the nation's political turmoil during the year, since an unbalanced budget presaged the devaluation of the franc and a return of the dark days of 1926. To the four Ministries which held power the deficit presented a particularly difficult dilemma. To balance the budget only two courses, or a combination of both, were open: an increase of revenue or a decrease in Government expense. With taxes already too high, the parliament was mortally

afraid of proposing further rises; but slashes in expenses seemed equally impossible, since they could be effected only by a drastic cut in military appropriations or in the salaries of Government employees. Attempts to solve this dilemma resulted in the fall of three Cabinets during the year. In January, on a proposal for a salary cut, the Socialists bolted and the Paul-Boncour Ministry was forced out. Daladier took the Premiership and the parliament convened in July. The new Ministry succeeded in pushing through certain cuts in military appropriations, but in October, on a salary-reduction issue, it, too, was defeated. The Sarraut Ministry attempted a similar move, only to fall in November. Chautemps, who followed, surprised all observers by getting both Chamber and Senate to adopt his salary-slash measures. But at the present writing the well-organized civil servants were threatening a general strike in protest. Under Chautemps the nation's budget difficulties were postponed, not settled.

Treasury; Diplomatic; Military.—Early in January, just after defaulting on the War-debt instalment to the United States, the nation loaned \$20,000,000 to Austria. It defaulted again in June and December. A farmer lobby forced the Chamber to raise the internal price of wheat, already selling at twice the world price. The Chamber increased tariff rates from 30 to 150 per cent in sixty-four categories of imports, later exempting a group of American products from the maximum-tariff rates. The Treasury borrowed from London, and then to aid further in raising revenue, launched a billion-franc lottery. Jesse I. Straus went to Paris as American Ambassador just as André Laboulaye succeeded Paul Claudel in Washington. In July, the French navy took possession of five small islands in the China Sea "previously unclaimed by any nation"; and General Huré forced the final surrender of the Berbers in Africa.

GERMANY

The Rise of Hitler.—When Lieut.-Gen. Kurt von Schleicher succeeded Von Papen as Chancellor, it was thought that the tidal wave of Hitlerism would be checked. However, the new Chancellor found it impossible to form a government and on January 28 resigned. On January 30, Adolf Hitler was called to the Chancellorship under restrictions which he finally accepted. Chief of these was the formation of a Cabinet in which the Nationalists and Junkers and the Catholic Center party would be adequately represented. Accepting the Cabinet, Hitler began a campaign to bring about the dissolution of the Reichstag and to move towards a dictatorship by legitimate means and without open revolution. In the elections of March 5 Hitler received the support of Hugenberg, and the combined National Socialists and Nationalists gathered fifty-two per cent of the votes cast, and immediately had proportionate control of the Reichstag. On March 12, the Nazis were again successful in all municipal and communal elections. On March 24, Hitler, assured of his control, staged a dramatic scene at the opening of the new Reichstag in the Garrison Church of Potsdam. The Reichstag Building had been burned on February 28. After

the solemn announcement of his program the Reichstag assembled, entrusting all power to the Chancellor and his Cabinet, voted to adjourn for a period of four years.

Growth of Power.—Hitler set about gaining control of Prussia. On February 6, Vice-Chancellor von Papen was made Reich Commissioner, throwing out Otto Braun, the Social Democrat Premier. On March 7, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels was made Minister of Propaganda with unlimited powers of censorship. On April 8, Hitler appointed himself Governor of Prussia and made Hermann Goering Prussian Premier, relieving Von Papen. This triumvirate pushed forward the National Socialist program until all opposition was crushed. On February 2, *Vorwaerts* was suppressed, and on May 2 the headquarters of the Workers Union was seized and the Social Democratic party came to an end. It was completely outlawed on June 22. In March, Bavaria was brought into submission, General Franz Ritter von Epp replacing the Catholic, Dr. Heinrich Held, as Premier. At the end of April the famous German People's party voluntarily dissolved. On April 27, Franz Seldt, head of the Steel Helmets, went over to Hitler, joining his 1,000,000 men with Hitler's Storm Troops. On June 27, the Nationalist party gave way and Dr. Hugenberg resigned from the Cabinet. Finally, the Catholic Center party found it impossible to function and, after the signing of the Concordat with the Vatican on July 20, ceased to exist as a political organization.

Persecution of the Jews.—The Nazis always harbored the conviction that the Jews in Germany were the cause of the nation's woes. Under this pretext and because of the dogma that Germany belongs only to the pure blooded Aryans, all Jews, even those converted to Christianity, were hounded to prison and death, or to abject poverty and humiliation, until it became almost unbearable for any Jew to remain in Germany. The persecution was ruthless and without regard to personal merit, scholarship, or even military service. There was no sign of mitigation of the stern decrees against this afflicted people.

Religious Problems.—During the rise of Hitlerism the Catholic Bishops of Germany and the Center party bitterly fought the movement because of several un-Christian elements in its program. Later, efforts were made by Hitler through Von Papen and Goering, who were sent to Rome to bring about an understanding with the Catholic Church. This finally led to the Concordat which was signed in Rome on July 20. The persecution of Jews on mere racial or religious grounds has been deplored by the German Bishops; and the new sterilization laws which are to go into effect this January have been strongly condemned. The Protestant Churches were in serious conflict with the Nazi authorities. Recent pagan trends among leaders of the German Christians have split the Protestants into hostile camps. Rejection of the Old Testament, exclusion of the Jews, State education of youth, and subordination of the Church to political power, have driven the conservative Protestants to make a strong stand for Church independence.

HUNGARY

Premier Goemboes Keeps Peace.—Thanks to the clever activity of the Premier and his Foreign Minister de Kanya, Hungary built up friendly relations with all its neighbors, increased its trade, while building up close relations with Italy and Turkey. The death of the great political figure, Count Apponyi, at Geneva was lamented everywhere. Moves to further claims of monarchists or pan-German Nazis were strongly controlled or suppressed.

ITALY

Mussolini's Commands.—In January, the Premier announced that \$130,000,000 would be spent on public works to employ one-third of the nation's 1,000,000 unemployed. In February, he insisted that the \$50,000,000 loan be floated entirely within the country. In June, he eased the somewhat strained Franco-Italian relations by bringing about the initialing of the Four-Power Pact. General Balbo with 100 men in twenty-five seaplanes took off from Ortoello in June on the first leg of the flight to Chicago, and was welcomed in Rome in August with tremendous enthusiasm. Another record was won by Italy when the Rex made a westward trans-Atlantic crossing, beating all previous records for speed. In August, Mussolini combined the Army, Navy, and Air portfolios into one Ministry of National Defense, taking the post himself. In September, Italy and the Soviet Government signed a pact of friendship, non-aggression, and neutrality. In November, the Premier predicted the ultimate end of the Chamber of Deputies as anachronistic, canceled its power of legislation in economic affairs, and gave this to the National Council of Corporations, thus transferring political power to the economic units.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina.—In June, Great Britain agreed to lend Argentina £10,000,000 to liquidate frozen credits and give tariff preferences to Argentine wheat and beef in exchange for reduced tariffs on 388 British products, including textiles and machinery. President Justo paid a visit of state to Rio de Janeiro in October and there with President Vargas signed treaties of peace and economic accord. In November a decree was published virtually limiting imports from any foreign country to the value of goods exported to it from Argentina.

Bolivia-Paraguay.—These two countries centered all their efforts during the past year and a half in a fierce struggle for the possession of the Gran Chaco territory which has cost them more than 100,000 dead and wounded. Offers of arbitration by the League of Nations and the ABC powers of South America were first accepted and then rejected. In December, the Bolivian forces collapsed. An armistice was signed on December 18.

Cuban Troubles.—The past year was in many ways the most disastrous since the establishment of the Republic. The Island was hit by the depression in its most acute form: an all-time low price of sugar, a public debt of \$178,000,000 on which it could not pay interest to

American bankers, general strikes that paralyzed industry and transportation, the closing of its university and all normal and high schools, wide-spread Communistic propaganda, an oversized army paid in full while civil officials had their salaries cut in half and school teachers received nothing at all. Reputable Cubans declared that many of these evils were due to the tyranny and rapaciousness of President Machado who, while enriching himself and his friends, was using the military, police, and special killers to exterminate his enemies in a reign of terror. United States Ambassador Welles vainly endeavored to mediate between the President and his accusers. Another general strike was then called, and when the army refused to support Señor Machado, he resigned on August 12 and fled in a plane to Nassau. He was succeeded by Dr. de Cespedes who after about three weeks was forced out by the more radical Dr. Ramon Grau and a new student-army régime. Hundreds of lives were lost in two unsuccessful revolts against the Grau Government. Dr. Grau asked for the recall of Ambassador Welles, who was replaced by a special envoy, Jefferson Caffery. President Roosevelt, however, has thus far refused to intervene or to recognize the Grau régime.

Brazil.—American importers agreed in June to lend Brazil \$1,200,000 in exchange for the liquidation of \$12,630,000 frozen in Rio de Janeiro banks and other concessions. President Vargas issued a decree in November doubling the duties of all French products imported into Brazil. This was in retaliation against the French decree of last July increasing the duties on Brazilian coffee and other products. A constituent assembly then began its sessions in Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of adopting a new constitution and electing a president. It was thought that Señor Vargas, Provisional President since 1930, would be chosen.

Chile.—In February the police discovered documents revealing an extensive Communist plot. More than 100 Communistic school teachers were dismissed for spreading Soviet propaganda. A treaty with Argentina was signed which virtually ended the commercial warfare between the two countries.

Colombia.—Dispute over the village of Leticia on the Amazon broke out into open warfare on February 14 when Peruvian planes dropped bombs on a Colombian gunboat in the Putumayo river. On May 25, an agreement was signed with the Council of the League of Nations ending the struggle over Leticia. The disputed territory was turned over to a League commission for arbitration.

Ecuador.—A long period of political agitation ended in October when Congress finally succeeded in impeaching and ousting President Martinez Mera. In December Provisional President Montalvo was replaced by the election of a Conservative, President José Maria Ibarro.

Haiti.—The end of United States armed intervention was in sight when an agreement providing for the withdrawal of American marines from the Island and

certain financial arrangements was signed on August 7 at Port au Prince. The Haitian press highly approved of the withdrawal of marines, but denounced the financial agreement, according to which, the Haitian customs, to safeguard American bondholders, are to be supervised by appointees of President Roosevelt.

The Year in Mexico.—Religious persecution greatly increased, especially in the States of Vera Cruz, Jalisco, and Chiapas. Churches were closed, the number of priests allowed still more limited, and many priests and nuns were imprisoned and a number killed. Tampico was struck in September by a hurricane, and a great portion of the city was damaged. University students in Mexico City and Guadalajara went on strike in October and November against the attempted introduction of Socialistic doctrine into the schools. At the Revolutionary party convention in December (which made a show of its Godlessness), General Lázaro Cárdenas was nominated for the Presidency, and the party's six-year plan assumed definite form. Also in December, the Congress adopted an amendment to the Constitution to expropriate lands and distribute them among the agrarian population, also providing that all church property not yet confiscated shall go to the nation.

Peru.—President Louis Cerro was assassinated on April 30 by a member of the radical Aprista party in a nation-wide plot to set up a Communistic government. General Oscar Benavides was chosen Provisional President to fill out the three and a half years of Señor Cerro's term.

Pan-American Conference.—The seventh Pan-American Conference opened in Montevideo on December 3 in the presence of ten Foreign Ministers and seventy-eight delegates, representing all twenty-one nations of the Pan-American Union. The United States delegation of six was headed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. An unusually friendly atmosphere had been created by the Uruguayan press, which praised President Roosevelt's modification of United States Latin-American policies and especially his statement that United States marines should not again land in Latin America to protect powerful banking interests. Dr. Giraudy, head of the Cuban delegation, made an impassioned plea for recognition of the Grau régime in Cuba. Secretary Hull's plea for lower tariffs and bilateral commercial treaties, and still more his declaration that "no Government need fear intervention on the part of the United States under the Roosevelt administration" received an ovation exceeded only by the one marking the announcement of the Chaco War armistice. The major achievement of the Conference up to December 20 was the adoption of a program calling for definite steps towards: (1) granting equal nationality rights to women; (2) making bilateral agreements reducing tariffs; and (3) signing five anti-war pacts. If Bolivia and Paraguay should follow up their armistice with a peace treaty, it was thought that this consummation would make the Montevideo Conference the most successful of all.

POLAND

Successful Negotiations.—During the year Poland was very successful in preserving peace and improving its position economically and politically. While still closely allied to France, it found solutions for troubles in Danzig, made non-aggression treaties with neighboring countries, improved its trade with Russia and Germany, and secured necessary loans. President Moscicki was elected to a second term as head of the Republic. Plans for a new Constitution were progressing.

RUMANIA

Factions Quelled.—The year opened with political troubles of a personal nature between friends of King Carol which led to Premier Maniu resigning on January 12. Surprisingly the former Premier, Alexander Vaida-Voevod, succeeded on January 14 in forming a Cabinet retaining most of the old Ministers, only Mihalache and Maniu being dropped; and this Government preserved strength and strongly supported the King. Royal family discords seemed to have been peacefully settled.

RUSSIA

Food Situation.—The Government was preoccupied with effecting the collective-farm plan. Decrees restricted the movements of the populace, and intensified Communist supervision of farm management. Reports spread to abroad of famine in the Ukraine, North Caucasus, and other food-producing areas, induced by the Government's rigid grain-delivery requirements. Nationalistic tendencies were suppressed.

Foreign Relations.—Trade relations remained generally unchanged over 1932. Negotiations were current for purchasing the Chinese Eastern Railway, but without result. Soviet foreign policy and peace treaties showed a sharp swing away from Germany to France, Poland, and their allies.

Engineers' Trial.—Four British subjects, on the staff of Metropolitan-Vickers, a British corporation, were arrested in Moscow March 11 and 12 by the secret police. They were charged with sabotage and economic espionage. After a sensational trial, arousing great British resentment, and a mild condemnation, they were released.

Recognition.—Soviet Russia was recognized by the United States on November 16. Ten days of negotiations preceded, which resulted in a set of agreements between Maxim M. Litvinov, the Soviet envoy, and President Roosevelt, touching propaganda, religious freedom, consular service, and debts. Claims against the United States were waived. William C. Bullitt was appointed American Ambassador; A. A. Troyanovsky, the Russian.

SPAIN

Cross Currents.—The year's events in the Peninsula can be summed up in one sentence: a constantly rising and finally triumphant popular reaction against an increasingly radical dictatorship. Shortly after the Republic, with Azaña at the helm, celebrated the second anniversary

of the Revolution, municipal elections were held in 2,500 villages, resulting in a surprising majority against the Government. However, as the Cortes convened, Premier Azaña, unperturbed by this portent, drove through the obnoxious Law of Religious Congregations. Rome issued the Spanish Encyclical urging the Faithful to use all legitimate means to reform the new laws. Some days later, sensing the popular opposition to Azaña, the President forced his resignation, but was compelled one week later to reinstate him. Azaña immediately ordered wholesale arrests, brought about the recognition of the Soviets, and began another drive to dispossess the grandee landowners. This was in August and the Premier was now at the height of his power. But in September came the election for the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees. A national election, it resulted in another victory for anti-Government candidates, including Juan March, one of Azaña's bitterest enemies. For the second time the people had repudiated the Premier and his policies, and hence the President again forced his resignation, offering the portfolio to Alejandro Lerroux, who formed a Republican Coalition Government. But Azaña still dominated the Cortes, and within one month Lerroux resigned. Under Azaña pressure, Martinez-Barrios was forced to choose a Cabinet noticeably more Left in its sympathies. But just at this time the President dissolved the Cortes and ordered new elections.

Swing to Right.—The Parliament had entered upon its work in July, 1931. Its 470 members—at least its Socialist-dominated majority—had written the Constitution, ratified it, enacted enforcing laws. Justly, therefore, observers saw in the November elections the first chance of the Spanish people to express their opinion of the radical trends of the Revolution, and in particular of the anti-Church objectives of Azaña which the Cortes had approved. The campaign was bitter, the results surprising even to Conservatives. With women balloting for the first time, the nation voted overwhelmingly against the Left. This was a clear mandate to revise the Constitution and to eliminate all anti-Church laws. The new Cortes met December 8. Lerroux, with a center Government depending for support on the Right, took the Premiership, promising a revision of the laic laws and the agrarian program. Gil Robles, the Catholic leader, prepared a bill demanding a Vatican Concordat and the abolition of the law forbidding teaching by Religious.

VATICAN CITY

The Holy Year.—The Apostolic Letter, "Quod Nuper," proclaiming the Holy Year was issued in January, and on April 1 the holy doors of Rome's four major basilicas were opened. Diplomatic: The Holy See exchanged ratifications of Concordats with the State of Baden in March; with the Austrian Republic in June; with the German Reich in September. Visits: The Pope left the Vatican to make visits to the major basilicas; left Rome to inspect improvements at Castel Gandolfo. Consistory: In March, he discussed the world crisis, affairs in Mexico, Spain, and Russia; created eight new Cardinals.

Beatifications: In April, Bl. Mary Pelletier; in May, Bl. Vincent Gerosa, Bl. Gemma Galgani; Bl. Joseph Pignatelli; Bl. Catherine Labouré. Canonizations: In June, St. Andrew Fournet; in December, St. Bernadette Soubirous. Scientific: The world's first ultra-short-wave radiotelephone station was opened in February by the Pope and Signor Marconi, who spoke from the Vatican with engineers at Castel Gandolfo.

DISARMAMENT

Discouragement.—The world disarmament conference, sitting at Geneva, inherited from 1932 a set of conflicting ideas. The Soviet delegate, M. Litvinov, elaborately defined an aggressor State. Figures on the armament industry startled, as did shipments of arms via Hungary. Aviation and militia quotas caused conflicts. Discouraging reports brought British Premier MacDonald to Geneva, to try to save the conference.

MacDonald and Mussolini.—A synthetic arms convention was proposed by Mr. MacDonald. After MacDonald had conferred with Premier Mussolini in Rome, the latter proposed a Four-Power peace treaty, signed July 14, which the French and their allies did not favor. Pope Pius XI, whom Mr. MacDonald visited, blessed his efforts for peace. The conference adjourned on March 27, and accepted the British plan provisionally.

United States in the Field.—Representing the new American administration, Norman H. Davis endorsed many vital suggestions at the reconvening of the conference, such as security measures, effective supervision, joint authority to control private arms traffic, simple definition of an aggressor, willingness to consult other States.

France and Germany Argue.—The French adhered strictly to their principle of rigid supervision, over a four year period, and were alarmed at German rearming. Replying October 6 to proposals by Great Britain, Italy, and France, Germany refused the four-year trial period, though accepting supervision in principle, demanded "samples" of all weapons, and immediate equality in armament.

Germany Withdraws.—After opinion, especially in Great Britain, had begun to be reassured, Germany suddenly telegraphed the League on October 14 that she would be obliged to withdraw from the conference, which adjourned, to meet again in January, 1934. Every effort was pledged to bring Germany back to the conference, while Arthur Henderson, its president, expressed absolute opposition to the Four-Power plan, and even threatened to resign.

France and Germany Confer.—Against a background of intense disarmament sentiment in Great Britain, Ambassador François-Poncet, of France, conferred in Berlin with Chancellor Hitler, who reduced Germany's demand to equality, with 300,000 men on an eight-months' service; and a plebiscite or agreement in the Saar region. Absolutely pacific intentions were professed by Hitler, Communism being his sole enemy, as against the French uneasiness over Germany. Finally, on December 19, Ger-

many agreed to armed status equal only to an "inferior" Power, to reciprocal supervision and control, and urged a ten-years' peace agreement. The year closed with some glimmering hope of solution after the heart-breaking crises in the Spring and Fall.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Manchurian Question.—That change of administration brought no change in the United States policy towards Japan became evident when on January 16 Secretary Stimson reasserted the American refusal to recognize violation of treaty rights. The League committee of nineteen Powers on Manchuria decided that their efforts had failed. Rejecting Japan's conciliation offer, they recommended on February 6 non-recognition of Manchukuo; the dispute must be settled on the basis of the Lytton report. A 15,000-word report on the situation was released on February 17 by wireless, maintaining China's sovereignty. As a consequence, Japan walked out of the League Assembly.

Other Interventions.—More success awaited the League's assistance in other disputes. Conflicting fishery rights of Denmark and Norway, in Greenland, were arbitrated in Denmark's favor by the World Court. The Leticia armed controversy in South America between Colombia and Peru was terminated by vindicating Colombia. Polish concessions averted war over Polish police in Danzig. The League's Saar commission guaranteed the rights of Saar citizens against the Nazis. Liberia, however, remained dissatisfied with the League support of the United States and the Firestone loans; and the Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay raged till the Pan-American truce in late December.

Proposed Reform.—Italy's demand, on December 5, for radical changes in the covenant, procedure, and finances of the League was coldly received by France and Great Britain. Refugee Jews were taken care of, after a prolonged dispute on the rights of minorities, by a special commission; and severe warnings were issued against the opium trade in Manchukuo.

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Preparation.—Conferences between President Roosevelt and economic representatives of the principal Powers raised high anticipations of the coming world conference; although forebodings were stirred early by the President's coldness to financial stabilization. Eight Prime Ministers and 100 Cabinet Ministers were addressed by King George V at the opening on June 12 of the economic conference.

Break Up.—Division appeared at the outset on the tariff and the monetary program. The desire of the gold-standard nations to peg the dollar conflicted with Mr. Roosevelt's insistence on general national recovery. After all doubt as to the united American front had been removed, the conference voted on July 27 an indefinite recess, with a record devoid of achievement save as to the output of silver. Substantial agreement however was reached at London by the principal producing countries to restrict the production and export and raise the price of wheat.